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ABSTRACT

Proceedings of a symposium of educators, administrators, researchers, and legislators concerned with the education of minority students are presented. The meeting's objectives were: (1) to raise issues of language and culture that must be taken into consideration in the process of setting, achieving, and assessing high educational standards, and (2) to recommend policies and strategies that will ensure that students of language and cultural minority backgrounds will not be left behind in the race to achieve world-class standards. These issues were considered in the context of Goal 3 of the National Education Goals, which states that "By the year 2000, American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy." Papers are as follows: "Overview: Diversity and Education Reform" (Donna Christian); "Raising Standards and Measuring Performance Equitably: Challenges for the National Education Goals Panel and State Assessment Systems" (Cynthia D. Prince and Pascal D. Forgione, Jr.); "Language, Learning, and National Goals: A Native American View" (William G. Demmert, Jr.); "The Education of Hispanic Americans" (Ramon L. Santiago); "The National Education Goals: Implications for African Americans and Other Minorities" (Warren Simmons); "Asian American Education and the National Education Goals" (Sau-Lim Tsang); and "Current Research Issues in Minority Student Education" (Donna Christian). Thirty-one policy and strategy recommendations are included in the areas of instructional programs, methods, and materials; teacher training and certification; and assessment policies and strategies. A resource list is appended, citing materials related to multicultural education, teacher training, teacher certification, and testing and standards. (LB)

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The National Education Goals

Goal 3

THE ISSUES
of Language and Culture

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Proceedings of a Symposium
convened by
Center for Applied Linguistics

FL 021 041

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National Education Goals

Goal 3: Student Achievement and Citizenship

By the year 2000, American students will leave grades four, eight, and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

Objectives

The academic performance of elementary and secondary students will increase significantly in every quartile, and the distribution of minority students in each level will more closely reflect the student population as a whole.

The percentage of students who demonstrate the ability to reason, solve problems, apply knowledge, and write and communicate effectively will increase substantially.

All students will be involved in activities that promote and demonstrate good citizenship, community service, and personal responsibility.

The percentage of students who are competent in more than one language will substantially increase.

All students will be knowledgeable about the diverse cultural heritage of this nation and about the world community.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Purpose of the Symposium

On October 5, 1992, the Center for Applied Linguistics convened a symposium of educators, administrators, researchers, and legislators who are concerned with the education of minority students. The objectives of the meeting were:

- to raise issues of language and culture which must be taken into consideration in the process of setting, achieving, and assessing high educational standards;

- to recommend policies and strategies which will ensure that students of language and cultural minority backgrounds will not be left behind in the race to achieve world-class educational standards.

These issues were considered in the context of Goal 3 of the National Education Goals, which calls for the demonstration of competency in challenging subject matter.

Background

Nationwide efforts to reform our school systems entered a significant new phase in September 1989, when President Bush and the nation's Governors agreed at the Education Summit in Charlottesville, VA that the United States should have common educational goals. The six National Education Goals, to be met by the year 2000, were announced the following February, and in September 1990, the National Education Goals Panel was created. The Panel was charged with monitoring and reporting progress toward the achievement of the goals, which in turn required decisions on how progress toward meeting the goals should be measured, as well as recommendations for improvements to existing data and assessment systems in order to obtain more complete and precise measures.

An early proposal of the Goals Panel was that national standards and a national system of assessments linked to those standards should be considered as a means of measuring progress toward Goal 3 (Student Achievement and Citizenship) and Goal 4 (Science and Mathematics). Congress established a temporary National Council on Education Standards and Testing in June 1991 to advise Congress and to assure broad participation by the public in discussions about the desirability and feasibility of national standards and testing in education.

In its final report (1992) the Council proposed that four kinds of national standards were feasible and desirable:

- content standards—identification of what should be taught;
- student performance standards—definitions of levels of students' competence in the subject matter;
- school delivery standards—criteria for assessing the schools' capacity and performance;
- system performance standards—evidence for evaluating the success of schools, school systems, states, and the nation in bringing students up to the standards.

The Council also recommended that there should be a national assessment system, not a single test, but multiple assessments developed by the states and linked to the national standards.

From the beginning, there has been a concern for equity as well as excellence. How should national standards and national assessment be established and implemented without creating hardship for students with special needs, in particular those students whose cultural and linguistic background differs from that of mainstream students? Will higher standards and more rigorous assessment further penalize students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds?

Principal Issues

Diversity within Groups

Ethnic labels mask tremendous diversity within each ethnic group. Native Americans include both Hawaiians and Alaskans. The Asian American label, already broad enough to include diverse cultures from East and Southeast Asia, is often paired with the term Pacific Islander, thus adding Samoans, Guamanians, and other islanders to Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Cambodians, and other mainland Asian groups.

In addition to the diversity of geographic origins found within each ethnic group, there is often a wide range in length of residence of members of the group in this country. Some Hispanics are newcomers while others are descendants of early settlers. The Asian immigration began with Chinese laborers in the 1840s and continues today with the influx of Southeast Asian refugees, many of them highly skilled and educated. While the majority of African Americans trace their roots to earlier periods in American history, another group of Blacks, the Haitians, are among our most recent immigrants.

There is further diversity in socioeconomic status and in educational background. Members of most minorities may be found in the poverty-stricken inner cities and in the affluent suburbs. Newcomers to the school systems of the country may be the children of highly educated professionals or they may be teenagers whose schooling has been constantly interrupted due to war and other disturbances in their homelands. Members of language minorities may be monolingual speakers of English, or they may have little or no knowledge of the language.

Finally, there are differences in educational achievement within each group. Asian Americans, often presented as the immigrant success story of our time, may perform at or above the norm in mathematics, but in English reading and writing ability they differ greatly from one subgroup to another and may score far below the norm on standardized tests (see pages 65-68). In short, virtually every minority group in our schools has both high school dropouts and National Merit Scholars.

Excellence and Equity

Those concerned with educating **all** students endorse the goal of high quality schooling, but they want to ensure that all students have a fair chance to meet the higher standards. The critical question is: How do we prepare students with different learning needs to meet the same goals?

There is a persistent gap in achievement between white and minority students (see pages 51-55). The 1990 survey of the National Assessment of Educational Progress shows Blacks and Hispanics lagging 20 to 40 points behind whites in reading and mathematics proficiency.

The mean verbal and mathematics scores for the 1991 Scholastic Aptitude Test paint a similar picture. The rank order of ethnic groups for verbal scores is first whites, followed by Asian Americans, American Indians, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Blacks, with a spread of 90 points from first to last place. In mean mathematics scores, the order is the

same except that Asian Americans are first, 41 points ahead of whites. Blacks score 104 points lower than whites.

The practices of tracking and ability grouping are at least partly to blame for this achievement gap. The consignment of minority group students to lower level academic groups and tracks can have the effect of putting a basic-skills ceiling over their heads (see page 56).

Importance of Language

Students who have not yet developed an adequate command of English, the language of instruction in the majority of the nation's classrooms, must bear the burden of simultaneously struggling to learn English and trying to master new content presented through the medium of that same language. They cannot take full advantage of such instruction. Moreover, on tests they are often unable to demonstrate the full range of their command of the subject matter, because most tests are heavily language dependent. Educators fear that the development of a national assessment system may result in increased reliance on standardized tests, thus placing an additional obstacle in the way of students with limited English proficiency. Similar difficulties are faced by students from English-speaking homes where the varieties of English used are drastically different in content and style from the more formal and abstract language of the school.

Teachers, Methods, Materials, and Programs

While there has been a notable growth in programs in bilingual education and English as a second language over the past twenty years, it is still true that too many mainstream classroom teachers have not been trained to manage today's multicultural classrooms. Teachers face not only the challenges created by their inability to speak their students' languages, but also the more subtle issues arising from possible mismatches between the students' cultures and the culture of American schools. Students accustomed to rote memorization are often confused by instructional approaches emphasizing higher order thinking skills. Students from cultures which value cooperation among members of the group feel uncomfortable with the spirit of competition which develops in our classrooms.

Many schools and school districts have been dealing for years with the reality of a multicultural society, but others are only beginning to come to grips with the sensitive issue of multiculturalism. The longstanding belief in the "melting pot" of American society has been seriously challenged, but the appropriate accommodations to increased cultural diversity must still be worked out.

Recommendations

Community-Based Programs

Because the nation's classrooms are becoming increasingly multiethnic, and because there is such great diversity even within each ethnic group, the most successful programs for educational reform are those which are community based. Curricula should be locally created, not just by researchers and educators, but also by students, parents, and other members of the community. Three such programs in Alaska and Hawaii have enhanced the academic performance of the students while enabling them to retain those aspects of the indigenous culture which are important to their self-identity (see pages 25-29). Another program, the Hostos Micro-Society School in Yonkers, NY, is a whole school designed to mirror the segment of society from which its students are drawn (see pages 41-42).

Accountability

Standards for minority students should be set as high as the standards for other students in the district. At the same time, the educational delivery system must be improved so that all students, including minority students, have a fair chance to meet the standards.

Programs already in place have yielded insights about the experiences and resources which are needed to improve education, particularly for culturally and linguistically diverse students (see pages 57-58). Some of the features of these programs are:

- active learning that takes children from the classroom into the community and the workplace;
- challenging subject matter that requires students to reason and solve problems utilizing primary materials rather than textbooks;
- teams of teachers who engage students in interdisciplinary activities focused on a common theme or issue;
- flexible scheduling and heterogeneous groupings of students.

Accommodating Language Needs

For language minority students, native language support for instruction and assessment is a crucial issue (see pages 37-39). Numerous transitional bilingual education programs have demonstrated that students can make academic progress in subject matter taught through their native language while they are still in the process of learning English. As students' English proficiency develops, native language support may be gradually withdrawn until they are finally able to make the transition to the mainstream classroom.

Where bilingual education programs are not feasible, students with limited English proficiency must be supported by means of programs in English as a second language together with instruction in content subject matter which is sensitive to their language limitations (referred to as "sheltered instruction").

Serious consideration should be given to testing conducted through the medium of the students' native language. This would enable educators to identify more accurately which students are learning and which students have other educational problems in addition to a limited command of English. Another way of testing students which avoids many of the language problems is to use performance-based tasks and continuous assessment carried on throughout a unit of study.

Finally, it simply makes good sense to encourage students who are native speakers of languages other than English to maintain and further develop their first language. Not to do so means the loss of an important national resource.

Teacher Education

College and university teacher preparation programs must educate prospective teachers in content knowledge about other cultures and in culturally appropriate teaching strategies for students from diverse backgrounds. Similarly, in-service staff development programs should provide practicing teachers with the guidance they need to accommodate new learning styles and to teach multicultural content.

Teachers should be required to be recertified on a regular basis to ensure that they keep in touch not only with new developments in their discipline and with ways of meeting the changing needs of their students, but also with the evolving standard-setting activities for their field. The movement to school-based management will give teachers much more control over the curriculum, delivery of instruction, and assessment of student performance. They must be professionally prepared for their new responsibilities.

Goal 3

THE ISSUES
of Language and Culture

SYMPOSIUM ON GOAL 3

On October 5, 1992, the Center for Applied Linguistics convened a day-long symposium in Washington, DC at which nearly 70 policymakers, researchers, educators, and administrators met to address language and culture issues that have been neglected in the movement to raise educational standards as mandated by the National Education Goals. The aim was to establish a dialogue among the stakeholders in the education of linguistic and cultural minority children in grades K-12.

The keynote speaker, Pascal D. Forgione, Jr., the first Executive Director of the National Education Goals Panel and current Superintendent of Education in the Delaware Department of Public Instruction, summarized the equity questions raised by national standards and assessments. The impact of Goal 3 on several of the largest linguistic and cultural minority groups was considered by the other featured speakers in the morning session: William G. Demmert, Jr., Western Washington University (for Native Americans); Ramón L. Santiago, Lehman College, City University of New York (for Hispanic Americans); Warren Simmons, National Center on Education and the Economy (for African Americans); and Sau-Lim Tsang, ARC Associates (for Asian Americans).

In the afternoon session, the participants formed several focus groups to discuss in greater detail the strategies for ensuring that linguistic and cultural minority students achieve Goal 3, as well as appropriate means of measuring progress toward the goal.

This publication presents the papers of the morning session and a summary of the recommendations which came out of the afternoon session. In addition, an overview sets the proceedings of the symposium into the larger context of cultural diversity and education reform. A further addition is the discussion of current research issues in minority student education, which complements the policy and strategy recommendations from the symposium.

The Center for Applied Linguistics has long been concerned with issues of educational equity and plans to continue to advocate for educational excellence for all students.

CONTENTS

Executive Summary i

Overview:
Diversity and Education Reform 3
Donna Christian

Raising Standards and Measuring Performance Equitably:
Challenges for the National Education Goals Panel
and State Assessment Systems 11
Cynthia D. Prince and Pascal D. Forgione, Jr.

Language, Learning, and National Goals:
A Native American View 25
William G. Demmert, Jr.

The Education of Hispanic Americans 35
Ramón L. Santiago

The National Education Goals:
Implications for African Americans and Other Minorities 49
Warren Simmons

Asian American Education and the National Education Goals 63
Sau-Lim Tsang

Current Research Issues in Minority Student Education 77
Donna Christian

Policy and Strategy Recommendations 87

As we race toward the year 2000, we must prepare ourselves for the world of the 21st century. The price of education is high, but the price of failing to educate may be catastrophic.

Our society will become increasingly fragmented if the disparity in educational opportunity persists. Our economic stability will be threatened if our workforce is not intellectually capable and well trained.

In sum, our nation's future depends on how well we educate our students today.

OVERVIEW: DIVERSITY AND EDUCATION REFORM

Donna Christian, Center for Applied Linguistics

This is a time of remarkable and rapid change in the world. Events in Eastern Europe and the transformation of the Soviet Union into the Confederation of Independent States are global manifestations of currents that pervade virtually every aspect of life today. In many ways, the world order, and our societies, are being "restructured." Science and technology are moving at a pace never seen before in human history. While much of the change is positive, expanding freedoms, extending the boundaries of knowledge and understanding, even redefining what is possible, it brings many new challenges. Framed in a context of economic uncertainty, social fragmentation, and political unrest, dealing with diversity in societies has emerged as a prime focus for concern.

Diversity in the United States

One result of the turmoil stemming from political, social, and economic upheavals in countries around the world has been the movement of people. Although the United States has long been the destination for immigrants from many countries seeking freedom and economic opportunity, the last decade has witnessed a significant increase in resettlement here. These diverse groups of newcomers, along with shifts in indigenous populations and increased ease of movement and communication within our borders, are changing the face of communities throughout American society.

The 1990 U.S. Census confirmed what many people sensed: during the decade of the 1980s, the United States became an increasingly multicultural society, with members of diverse ethnic groups found in communities large and small throughout the country. During a time when the total population of the United States increased by just 10 percent:

- the number of Asian and Pacific Islanders more than doubled (from 3.5 million to 7.3 million);
- the Hispanic-origin population increased by over 50 percent, from 14.6 million to 22.4 million;
- American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut groups grew by 37 percent, from 1.4 million to nearly 2 million (National Association for Bilingual Education, 1991).

Not only did the numbers increase significantly, so did the diversity **within** these groups. "The nation's minority population is becoming increasingly diverse, with a range of new Asian and Hispanic subgroups growing rapidly and dispersing across the continent..." (Vobejda, 1991). For example, while numbers of the predominant Asian groups—Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese—grew substantially, the size of other Asian groups, such as Hmong, Cambodian, and Laotian expanded at an even faster rate during the last decade.

The impact of diversity has reached into every corner of the country, contributing to the process of change in society as a whole. Issues of equity, access, and communication across cultural lines have come to dominate discussion in political, social, and economic arenas. Nowhere is the tension felt more acutely than in the domain of education.

Diversity in Education: Crisis and Opportunity

The rapidly changing demography of the U.S. population has profound implications for all aspects of American education. Quite bluntly, our country faces a crisis—one of alarming proportions. The number of language minority youth and young adults continues to grow dramatically, but their level of academic

achievement lags significantly behind that of their language majority counterparts and appears to be rapidly worsening. As the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) recently noted:

> Public schools have been among the first of these institutions required to respond to increased cultural diversity within our borders. Desegregation, bilingual education, ESL adult education classes, ethnographic studies, and ethnic celebrations are examples of previous public school responses to increasingly pluralistic constituencies. Further, a primary intent of the current education reform movement has been to improve the education outcomes of underachieving minority students.
>
> However, many educators and policymakers believe that these strategies have not been sufficient. Although numerous minority children do experience outstanding academic achievement, according to Hodgkinson (1989), the current education reform movement has flunked the demographic agenda. (CCSSO, 1991, p. 1)

The number of language minority youth and young adults continues to grow dramatically, but their level of academic achievement lags significantly behind that of their language majority counterparts and appears to be rapidly worsening.

Actual numbers of students are hard to pin down, since definitions of "language minority" and "limited English proficient" (LEP) vary widely. However, it is clear that the number of students from non-English language backgrounds is growing.

- A report by Oxford et al. (1984) showed 2.4 million children age 5 to 14 with limited English proficiency in 1980 and projected increases to 2.8 million by 1990 and to 3.4 million in 2000.
- Olsen (1989) reported that over 1.5 million students in 1986-87 were identified as limited English proficient, but estimates that three to six times that number need specialized instruction.
- Waggoner (1991) suggests that the results of the 1990 census are likely to point to over 8 million children from families where a language other than English is used.

These national estimates are supported by current state and local figures.

- California reported that, in 1990, more than one out of six students enrolled in state schools, a total of 861,531, was limited in English proficiency.
- Ten years earlier, only 376,794 students were identified as LEP (Lambert, 1991).

Such numbers might not be surprising for California, New York, Texas, or Florida, but substantial numbers of students from diverse language backgrounds are found in school districts everywhere.

- A recent newsletter from Minnesota reports that Minneapolis/St. Paul has 44,000 refugees (mostly Southeast Asian), and in a school district with 40,000 students total, 16 percent are Southeast Asian.
- Further, while the 3,200 LEP students in the district are primarily Hmong, Lao, Vietnamese, and Cambodian, there are 78 different languages spoken in the homes of these students.

Moreover, these dramatic increases are occurring while the overall population of school-aged children is declining. The Department of Education reported a decline from over 52 million school-aged children in 1970 to just over 47 million in 1980 to under 45 million in 1985 (cited in Vobejda, 1987). As a result, the proportion of language minority students in the schools is growing even more rapidly than the absolute numbers. If current trends continue, it is likely that the majority of the school-aged population will be from language minority backgrounds in 50 or more major American cities by the year 2000 (Tucker, 1990).

These numbers are particularly alarming in light of the fact mentioned above: academic achievement and school completion rates for many minority students are low, particularly for Hispanic students, who are the largest minority and a rapidly growing sector of our population. A recent study of Hispanic education concluded that Hispanics are the most undereducated major segment of the U.S. population—they tend to enter school later, leave school earlier, and are less likely to complete high school or participate in postsecondary education (National Council of La Raza, 1991). Cited in that report are results from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) which indicate that, among Hispanic eighth graders, 75 percent cannot pass a test of simple mathematical operations, including decimals and fractions.

Many language minority students, not only Hispanics, are potentially at risk. The National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS:88) showed that, while Asian students had higher levels of achievement in reading and math than other minority groups, there were great variations among Asian subgroups. Southeast Asians were well below average, and Pacific Islanders proved to have the greatest needs of all racial and ethnic groups studied (National Center for Education Statistics, 1992).

The threat to society caused by the failure to educate groups of students is increasingly recognized. Some see a two-class society emerging in this country. By the year 2000, approximately 60 percent of all new workers will be members of ethnic and linguistic minorities. Large segments of the workforce will be the children of young adults who are now dropping out of high school and who find vocational training programs ill suited for real job demands. The cycle of failure in education, employment, and training for minority groups, including language minorities, will have a tremendous impact on our country's ability to assemble a competent and competitive workforce in the years ahead. These fears were echoed by a series of reports issued in the late 1980s (e.g., *Workforce 2000* and *The Bottom Line: Basic Skills in the Workplace*) which assessed the state of our preparedness as a nation to enter the 21st century.

In education, the response has signaled a time for change. In critical content areas, educators have documented the current unacceptable state of affairs and offered recommendations for positive action to change it: in mathematics (*Everybody Counts*); in science (*Project 2061: Science for All Americans*); and in social studies (*Charting a Course: Social Studies for the 21st Century*). At an historic summit conducted in Charlottesville, VA in 1989, the President and the nation's governors sounded the call for national education reform and developed the National Education Goals for the year 2000. The education reform movement continues to gather strength and promises to transform the crisis in education into an opportunity to form a new and radically different system for educating all the students of the United States.

Restructuring Education

> Today multiculturalism is a fact of life in this country. To proceed with business as usual, in the face of changing demographics, would be a disservice to all public school students as well as to the future welfare of the entire nation. (CCSSO, 1991, p. 8)

Such calls for educational reform are not new. In the 1980s, research on effective schools led to prescriptions for school improvement, one result of which was the trend toward school-based management (McKeon and Malarz, 1991). However, more recently, education reformers are calling for a complete rethinking of the educational process, a "restructuring." According to the Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools, restructuring "represents a concern for fundamental changes in the way schools are organized, but the precise nature of those changes...is in hot dispute" (Newmann, 1991).

Although the impetus for educational reform undoubtedly comes at least in part from a response to the conditions created by increasing diversity, the leaders of the movement have largely failed to involve language minorities or address their concerns.

Today the education reform movement unites disparate groups from government, education, and the private sector. Concerns for the quality of the teaching force led to the establishment of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards in 1987, a private nonprofit group whose purpose is to develop national standards for teacher certification, both core standards and specializations. That Board's work is progressing toward the planned issuance of certificates in 1993. Concerns for subject-matter knowledge have spurred efforts to set standards for what students should know and what they should be able to do in the various content areas, including mathematics (by the National Assessment Governing Board, the Mathematical Sciences Education Board, and the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, in separate efforts), science (National Science Teachers Association, American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Coordinating Council for Education), English (National Council of Teachers of English), and social studies (National Council for the Social Studies). Specific attention is also being focused on language minorities by the TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) Task Force on Policy and Standards for K-12 Language Minority Students in the United States.

In 1989, the President and the governors set the six National Education Goals for the country to work toward for the year 2000. These goals address school readiness, high school graduation, content area mastery (especially science and mathematics), literacy, and the need for a drug- and violence-free school environment. Both public and private sector institutions were called upon to contribute to restructuring education to make these goals achievable.

In addition to goals and standards, various groups were formed to consider assessment issues, both national and local. The National Education Goals Panel was established in 1990 to measure the nation's progress toward achieving the goals. The National Council on Education Standards and Testing was formed in 1991 to investigate the desirability and feasibility of developing a national standards and assessment system for students.

It is clear that diverse constituencies have staked a claim on restructuring American education. The many initiatives mentioned above are only part of the total picture. However, although the impetus for

educational reform undoubtedly comes at least in part from a response to the conditions created by increasing diversity, the leaders of the movement have largely failed to involve language minorities or address their concerns. Educators of language minority students feel alienated from the reform movement and the National Education Goals. They feel left out of the discussions and powerless to affect the decisions that are being made. As a result, the debate on reform issues is not reaching an important segment of the education community, who feel that the process does not respond to their concerns. There is an urgent need to ensure the inclusion of this constituency in the debate on education reform.

Change is everywhere—in the world, in our society, in education. The significant changes that are occurring are in part responsible for the increasing diversity in our society, and that diversity is in turn leading many to call for restructuring and change in the way we deal with diversity, including in our education system.

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Determining how standards should be set for students with special needs and how these populations of students might be assessed equitably are questions that will take considerable thought and much more public discussion about what we want the nation's students to achieve. Whether these questions will be addressed now, while standard setting is underway, or later, after standard-setting decisions have already been made, is a critical issue.

RAISING STANDARDS AND MEASURING PERFORMANCE EQUITABLY: CHALLENGES FOR THE NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS PANEL AND STATE ASSESSMENT SYSTEMS

Cynthia D. Prince, National Education Goals Panel
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Excellence and equity. These two words should be inseparable in ongoing debates over educational reform. It is difficult to envision how the United States will succeed in raising expectations for student achievement, setting higher standards, and assessing student performance against those standards unless the nation and states also ensure that well-intentioned educational reforms do not adversely affect children—in particular, those who are disadvantaged, from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and those with disabilities.

We are extremely pleased to be invited to this symposium by the Center for Applied Linguistics to discuss issues of educational excellence and equity. Too often these public discussions come after standards are already determined and new assessment instruments are already developed--only then are decisions made about who should be assessed, when they should be assessed, whether different standards should apply to different groups of students, and whether some students should be exempted from testing altogether. Historically, such decisions have not been applied uniformly across states and have not always been made in the best interests of children.

While much debate over national standards and assessment has already taken place, rest assured that the debate is still in its infancy and is far from over. As we speak, Congress is considering whether to adopt legislation authorizing a National Education Standards and Assessment Council (NESAC), which would establish criteria for judging national standards and assessments as "world-class" and coordinate the diverse standard-setting and assessment activities occurring across the country. The U.S. Department of Education has just funded six standard-setting projects in science, history, the arts, civics, geography, and English, to be completed over the next two years. And numerous states are abandoning standardized, multiple-choice, norm-referenced achievement tests in favor of more authentic, criterion-referenced performance assessments to measure what students know and can do.

All of these decision-making bodies—NESAC, those involved in national standard-setting projects, and individual states—will have to face the same issues during the course of their work: how should standards be set for students with special needs? Should limited English proficient, disabled, and disadvantaged students be held to the same standards of performance as other students? Are different accommodations needed to assess them fairly, and if so, what would those accommodations be? What assurances are needed that the national drive to achieve higher standards, more rigorous curricula, and more demanding assessments will not be attained at the expense of students who have not had the same opportunity to learn challenging subject matter? This symposium provides an excellent opportunity for the members of this audience—those most knowledgeable about linguistic and cultural diversity and educational equity—to address these issues and to develop a plan of action to inform and influence educational policy.

Our purpose today is threefold. First, we will present a brief overview of the work of the National Education Goals Panel, paying particular attention to Goal 3, Student Achievement and Citizenship, and the Panel's efforts to establish world-class standards of performance. Second, we hope to lay the groundwork for further discussion by presenting for your consideration four possible approaches to standard-setting for

students with special needs, along with potential advantages and disadvantages of each approach. Third, we will address how states are reacting to the national interest in standard-setting and assessments by describing the standards-based approach to educational improvement adopted by one state, Delaware.

A Brief History of the National Education Goals Panel

The National Education Goals Panel was created two years ago through a joint agreement between the White House and the National Governors' Association. In September 1989, President Bush and the nation's governors reached agreement at an education summit held in Charlottesville, VA, that the United States should have common education goals. The six National Education Goals, announced in February 1990, state that by the year 2000:

1. All children in America will start school ready to learn.
2. The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.
3. American students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter, including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography; and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.
4. U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.
5. Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.
6. Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

In July 1990, the National Education Goals Panel was formed. The Panel has evolved over the past two years to be an independent, bipartisan body composed of eight governors, two members of the President's administration, and four members of Congress. Its purpose is to:

1. decide how progress toward the goals might be measured;
2. establish baseline data to determine how close the nation and individual states already are to the targets set for the end of the century;
3. monitor and report national and state progress toward the goals each year; and
4. recommend improvements to existing data and assessment systems so that more complete and more precise measures of progress can be reported in the future.

The Panel has decided to report each September, through the year 2000, on the progress the nation and individual states have made toward achieving the National Education Goals (National Education Goals Panel, 1991, 1992).

National Standards and Assessments

Two of the six goals (Goal 3: Student Achievement and Citizenship, and Goal 4: Science and Mathematics) are primarily concerned with increasing current levels of U.S. student achievement. At present, the only nationally representative assessment system which can be used to monitor U.S. student achievement in English, mathematics, science, history, and geography is the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). However, NAEP was never designed to judge what students **should** know and be able to do. It was designed simply to describe student performance in relation to other students at the same age or grade level.

Given the lack of explicit national standards specifying what students should know and how well they should know it, the Panel proposed during early deliberations that national standards and a national system of assessments linked to those standards should be considered as a means of measuring progress toward Goals 3 and 4. In light of increasing talk about national standards and President Bush's subsequent call for national achievement tests, Congress established a temporary National Council on Education Standards and Testing (or the Council) in June 1991, to advise Congress and to assure broad participation by the public in discussions about the desirability and feasibility of national standards and testing in education.

The Council stressed that there should not be a single test, but a system of multiple assessments ... The assessments should be voluntary, not mandatory, and should be developmental.

The National Council on Education Standards and Testing was composed of 32 members, including educators, researchers, assessment specialists, business representatives, governors, state legislators, and members of Congress. In order to carry out its work, the Council formed eight task forces of nationally recognized education experts to produce background papers and to inform the Council's deliberations. The Council completed its work in December 1991 and issued a final report to Congress in January 1992 (National Council on Education Standards and Testing, 1992).

The Council and its task forces were asked to address three questions:

1. Are national standards and a system of assessments desirable?
2. Is it feasible to develop national standards and a system of assessments?
3. How are national standards and a system of assessments to be developed and implemented?

What is Meant by National Standards?

One of the fundamental assumptions of the Council was that over time the U.S. educational system had drifted to a minimal skills curriculum with low expectations and that it was unlikely that student performance would improve substantially without demanding standards. The Council (1992, p. 13) proposed that four kinds of national standards were both feasible and desirable:

1. **Content standards** that describe the knowledge, skills, and other understandings that schools should teach in order for students to attain high levels of competency in challenging subject matter;
2. **Student performance standards** that define various levels of competence in the challenging subject matter set out in the content standards;
3. **School delivery standards** developed by the states collectively from which each state could select the criteria that it finds useful for the purpose of assessing a school's capacity and performance; and
4. **System performance standards** that provide evidence about the success of schools, local school systems, states, and the Nation in bringing all students, leaving no one behind, to high performance standards.

The Council (1992, p. 3) specified that these standards should have five characteristics:

1. Standards must reflect high expectations, not expectations of minimal competency.
2. Standards must provide focus and direction, not become a national curriculum.

3. Standards must be national, not federal.
4. Standards must be voluntary, not mandated by the federal government.
5. Standards must be dynamic, not static.

In addition, the Council concluded that in order to determine whether American students were competent in challenging subject matter, a national system of assessments should be created. The Council stressed that there should not be a single test, but a system of multiple assessments developed by states, individually or in groups, which are linked to the national standards. The Council also stressed that the assessments should be voluntary, not mandatory, and should be developmental so that they can accommodate new developments in measurement and assessment.

If all students are expected to meet exacting national standards, then schools must ensure that all students are given opportunities to receive high quality instruction and to learn challenging core content.

Setting Standards Equitably

Congress acknowledged from the Council's inception that equity was a critical issue in any discussion of standards and assessments. Congress specifically asked the Council to address "whether support that would provide educationally disadvantaged children, handicapped children, and children with limited English proficiency the opportunity to succeed should be a part of any effort to implement national education standards" (House Committee Report 102-104, HR 2435).

Equity was also at the heart of many spirited Council debates and public hearings pertaining to the desirability and feasibility of national standards and assessments. Some of the arguments against national standards and assessments were as follows:

1. It is simply impossible to establish national standards in the United States because it is not possible to reach consensus on what all students in a culturally diverse nation should know.
2. National standards will further widen the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students, particularly if standards are accompanied by high stakes assessments that directly affect students' life choices (high school graduation, college admission, employment, etc.). In reality, national standards will penalize students with special needs because they will have to go farther than others to meet the standards.
3. Talk of national standards raises fears that the additional resources that students and schools will need to meet increasingly demanding levels of performance will not be forthcoming.
4. States have no consistent manner in which limited English proficient students are assessed on statewide or district-level minimum competency examinations. Furthermore, there is an extensive history of test misuse and abuse concerning linguistic and cultural minorities. It is highly unlikely that a system of national standards and assessments will correct these problems, since testing decisions are still made at the state and local levels.

Competing arguments were also proposed in favor of national standards and assessments:

1. Experience in California shows that it is possible to reach consensus on what culturally and ethnically diverse students should know and be able to do, as

evidenced by the engaging curriculum frameworks the state has adopted in mathematics, social studies, and science.

2. High national standards and demanding assessments will actually promote equity—if all students are expected to meet exacting national standards, then schools must ensure that all students are given opportunities to receive high quality instruction and to learn challenging core content.
3. Too often, special programs designed to help students with special needs (e.g., special education, bilingual education, Chapter 1) are designed as pull-out programs that operate independently of the regular school system, with separate curricula, instruction, and expectations. National standards and assessments would ensure that special programs reinforce opportunities for students to perform to their highest abilities on common content that all students are expected to learn.

In its final report to Congress, the Council concluded that although setting standards and assessing diverse populations of children equitably would be a formidable challenge, national standards and assessments were both feasible and desirable. How this might be done was not specified. In the following section of this paper we present four possible alternatives for consideration, along with potential advantages and disadvantages of each.

Four Possible Ways that Standards Could Be Set

One standard for everybody

By far the simplest way to set standards is to establish the same standard for all students, regardless of special needs. The chief advantage of this approach is uniformity. The presumed desirable effect is that "national standards applicable for all children will help provide the impetus for realizing equality of educational opportunity across the Nation" (National Council on Education Standards and Testing, 1992, p. E-6).

The most serious disadvantages to this approach are that (a) it may not be possible to reach consensus on a single standard for everyone; and (b) holding all students to the same standard without regard to differences in school resources and opportunities to learn places an enormously unfair burden on students.

Same standard, different conditions

A second way to approach standard setting is to hold all students to the same standard, but to allow the conditions needed to reach the standard to differ (for example, by allowing students more time to reach the standard, by employing alternative instructional methods, or by allowing students to demonstrate mastery of content in their native language). The advantages of this approach are that (a) it still guarantees that students will be held to mastery of common content, and (b) it still holds schools accountable for teaching all students essential skills and knowledge.

This approach has the added advantage of being more equitable than the first alternative, since it acknowledges that some students may need additional time or accommodations to reach the standard. Moreover, it is consistent with the Council's (1992, p. 10) admonition that "students with disabilities or limited English proficiency should be provided opportunities to learn and to demonstrate their mastery of material under circumstances that take into account their special needs."

The arguments against such an approach are primarily technical. It is simply easier to monitor student progress by assessing and reporting what students know by certain benchmarks (e.g., by the end of fourth grade, eighth grade, and twelfth grade) than to attempt to monitor progress at varying points in time. Second, there is no guarantee that special accommodations will ensure more equitable instructional and assessment practices, since this will depend on how well these individual decisions are made. Third, accommodations such as allowing students more time to reach the standard or assessing students in their

native language may not necessarily solve educational inequities. Simply allowing more time will not equalize the effects of poor instruction or lack of opportunity to learn. And assessing students in their native language may prove to be counterproductive in some cases, since content instruction for most students after fourth grade or so (even in bilingual education programs) tends to be in English.

Different standards for different groups

A third approach is to abandon the notion of a single standard of performance and set different standards for different groups. The chief advantage of this approach is its flexibility—standards could be custom-designed to accommodate the needs of different groups, as well as to accommodate differences of opinion on what all students should know and be able to do. Geisinger (1991, p. 46) proposes that such an approach be considered for statewide minimum competency tests:

> There may be circumstances in the use of minimum competency examinations where it is appropriate to employ a different standard as the passing score than is used in the general population. In some instances, LEP students have already been identified for special test administration procedures such as being excluded from taking the examination altogether on the basis of an [Individualized Education Program] or a similarly institutionalized policy, bypassing the first test administration for which they are eligible, having the test administered in their native or first language, or taking an alternative measure. Under such circumstances, it may also be appropriate to use a different passing score in the recognition that their more limited English skills inhibit their best performance.

The primary disadvantage to this approach is that it could result in attempts to create "separate but equal" standards which establish lower expectations for some groups of students and alleviate schools of their responsibility to provide equal educational opportunity.

Exclude some groups from assessment altogether

The fourth alternative is to exclude some groups of students from national standards and assessments altogether. In fact, a precedent for this approach already exists. In the past, large-scale assessments such as NAEP excluded limited English proficient students and those with special education placements from participation. Some who favor this approach argue that it is better to exclude special education and LEP students from assessments altogether than to expose them to unfair testing practices that could penalize or stigmatize them.

"The major problem with this approach," as pointed out by the Council's Assessment Task Force, "has been that these students are then placed 'outside of accountability.' A more inclusive approach towards assessment is needed if equity concerns are to be respected" (National Council on Education Standards and Testing, 1992, p. F-8).

Current Attempts to Set National Standards

Clearly, determining how standards should be set for students with special needs and how these populations of students might be assessed equitably are questions that will take considerable thought and much more public discussion about what we want the nation's students to achieve. Whether these questions will be addressed now, while standard setting is underway, or later, after standard setting decisions have already been made, is a critical issue.

Mathematics standards were already announced by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics in 1989 (National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 1989). In addition to the mathematics standards, federal funds have recently been allocated for "World Class Standards Projects" to develop standards over the next two to three years in six other content areas:

1. **Science** - $3 million from the U.S. Department of Education to the National Academy of Sciences;
2. **History** - $1.6 million (including $66,000 in non-federal funds) from the U.S. Department of Education and the National Endowment for the Humanities to the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles;
3. **Arts** - $500,000 from the U.S. Department of Education, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the National Endowment for the Humanities to the Music Educators National Conference in consortium with the American Alliance for Theatre and Education, the National Art Education Association, and the National Dance Association;
4. **Civics** - $705,000 (including $200,000 in non-federal funds) from the U.S. Department of Education and the Pew Charitable Trusts to the Center for Civic Education and the National Council for the Social Studies;
5. **Geography** - $820,000 (including $120,000 in non-federal funds) from the U.S. Department of Education and the National Endowment for the Humanities to the National Council for Geographic Education in collaboration with the Association of American Geographers, the National Geographic Society, and the American Geographical Society; and
6. **English** - $360,500 from the U.S. Department of Education to the National Council of Teachers of English, the International Reading Association, and the University of Illinois Center for the Study of Reading.

Each of these standard setting projects is forming, or has formed, advisory groups to develop curriculum standards, teaching standards, and assessment standards. The advisory groups include representatives of educational and professional associations within the field. The National Committee on Science Education Standards and Assessment, for example, includes liaisons from a number of organizations representing minorities in science, such as:

- American Indian Science Engineering Society
- Association of Mexican American Educators
- Association for Women in Science
- Foundation for Science and the Handicapped
- National Organization of Black School Educators
- Science Association for Persons with Disabilities
- Society for the Advancement of Chicanos and Native Americans in Science
- Society of Hispanic Professional Engineers
- Society of Mexican American Engineers and Scientists

One would expect these representatives to be especially sensitive to the issues we have raised about equity in standard setting and assessments. One would not necessarily expect the science group to reach the same conclusions as the history group, the arts group, or the geography group, however, unless there was a concerted effort to direct their attention to these issues and offer recommendations from the field. Should uniform guidelines be suggested to these groups? Would this be an appropriate task for participants in this symposium?

A State Attempt at Setting Standards: The Delaware Experiment

Our collective national and state efforts to institute standards-based approaches to educational reform must provide for in-depth conversations on issues of educational excellence and equity. Too often, as

pointed out earlier, these public discussions have come after standards are already determined and new assessment instruments are already developed.

Delaware, along with numerous other states, has come to the realization that our educational health is at the heart and core of our state's economic security. There is a readiness to invest in our children. It is our professional responsibility to ensure that our responses to this policy opportunity are well crafted to effect the systemic and coherent reformation of our schools toward excellence and equity for all children.

The success of standards-based approaches or strategies of educational reform, such as those incorporated in the National Council on Education Standards and Testing's proposal, the efforts of the World Class Standards Projects, and parallel state initiatives, will depend on three key components.

First, a compelling vision statement must be articulated that incorporates a set of guiding principles to provide clarity and direction to the vision of teaching and learning that is expected. We must translate our vision statement—for Delaware, excellence and equity for all students—into operational statements that can guide our curricular framework commissions and our standards and assessments development partnerships.

Second, meaningful and ongoing opportunities for parent and community involvement in the reform effort must be created from the outset. Let us not forget we are committed to enhancing the performance of the American Common School or Public School and its unique charter that resides in its connections to our citizens and communities.

Third, extensive and continuous staff development experiences must be scheduled throughout the reform's implementation by all educators. Said another way, we must view and sell these reforms as human capital investments.

We at the state level must ensure that our efforts to develop curriculum frameworks that incorporate rigorous and challenging subject matter and "world-class" standards of performance will be undergirded by firm commitments to staff and student development in order to ensure excellence and equity for all students and staff. We should loudly proclaim our beliefs that all children can learn at significantly higher levels, and that all teachers can teach.

Neither is a present reality, but fairness demands that our concomitant emphasis be on human capital development of all clients and our staff. However, a distinguishing feature of today's reform is the focus on clear expectations of quality learner outcomes and the associated pedagogical and content understandings required to effect these results. The criterion of success must be enhanced student learning for all children.

Delaware's Reform Plan

In May 1992, the Delaware State Board of Education adopted New Directions for Education in Delaware, a plan for educational reform designed by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in collaboration with groups from local school districts and the private sector (Forgione and McCann, 1992). New Directions is a "standards-based" approach to educational improvement. This reform agenda clearly defines a strategy of educational standards and related assessments and accountability that will define the nature of educational change needed if Delaware students are to be prepared for life in the 21st century. The strategy is based on the conviction that to improve our schools significantly we must answer three complex questions:

1. What is it that students must know and be able to do?
2. How will we know when students have accomplished the task?
3. What are the best ways to enhance student learning?

Figure 1 Delaware's Curriculum Frameworks

GIVENS		SUGGESTIONS	
A WHAT/WHEN Content Standards	B HOW WELL Performance Standards	C HOW (for Students) Learning Events	D HOW (for Teachers) Teacher Practices
Standards will be Universal		Instruction will be Individual	

Translating the first two questions into language more relevant to education, Delaware educators are now asking themselves:

1. What should be the content and performance standards that all students must master?
2. What types of assessment should be used to measure accurately what students have learned?

Designing, developing, and implementing content standards and student performance standards, along with meaningful tools to assess how students, teachers, and schools perform against them, are Delaware's starting points for solid and sustained progress in reforming the state's public schools. Curriculum Frameworks, which will be designed and developed initially in mathematics, science, English/language arts, and social studies, will provide the scaffolding for the New Directions agenda. Delaware's Curriculum Frameworks can perhaps best be visualized by the diagram in Figure 1.

Content standards (Box A in Figure 1) will define what Delaware students must know and be able to do at specific benchmark levels, such as by the end of grades 3, 5, 8, and 10. Delaware's content standards for mathematics, science, English/language arts, and social studies will be developed over the next two to three years by 45-member Curriculum Framework Commissions, comprised of teachers, administrators, school board members, higher education faculty, national content experts, parents, students, and representatives of the community.

Once developed, these content standards will be universal. In other words, all Delaware schools and districts will be expected to design their local curricula so that the kinds of knowledge, skills, strategies, attitudes, and understandings described in the content standards are taught. Delaware's content standards will not be minimal standards, but rather will describe the levels of accomplishment that students need to acquire if they are to attain high levels of competency in a particular subject area.

Performance standards (Box B in Figure 1) will establish the degree or quality of student performance required to demonstrate various levels of competency in the subject matter set out in the content standards. Student performance standards will consist of concrete tasks and explicit definitions of what students have to do to demonstrate that they have learned to an adequate level the skills, strategies, and knowledge framed by the content standards.

Currently, there are very few examples of concrete performance standards for elementary and secondary school students in Delaware and in the nation. Three examples that offer us some guidance in building student performance standards are the College Board's Advanced Placement (AP) examinations, Connecticut's Common Core of Learning Performance Assessment tasks, and the New Standards Project development work in literacy and mathematics. AP examinations provide national models for student assessment that are tied closely to course descriptions, performance-based examinations, and professional development activities for teachers. They also provide opportunities for students to undertake college-level study while still in high school. "Exploring the Maplecopter," a task which was developed by the Connecticut Common Core of Learning Performance Assessment Project, provides a concrete example of a performance-based assessment task that will help Delaware educators with the development of student performance standards. This task assesses students' ability to design and carry out their own experiments for the purpose of gaining new knowledge. It requires students to work both individually and in small groups and clearly specifies the criteria on which student work will be evaluated. Finally, the tasks and scoring criteria that are being developed jointly by Delaware teachers and teachers from across the nation as part of the New Standards Project exemplify both the characteristics embodied in good performance assessment tasks, and the processes Delaware educators will need to engage in during development of student performance standards.

Our question to this audience is whether there is sufficient consensus among this community of scholars and practitioners to answer these questions now or in the near future. We would urge the Center for Applied Linguistics to continue to play a leadership role in convening more symposia of this type to ponder and debate these issues.

The four Delaware Curriculum Framework Commissions (English/language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies) will work interactively with the Delaware Educational Research and Development Center at the University of Delaware and Delaware State College to design, develop, and establish student performance standards. Like the content standards, student performance standards will be universal.

Learning Events (Box C in Figure 1) and Teacher Practices (Box D in Figure 1) will be individualized and exemplary. Some types of student activities and teaching strategies will likely be more effective than others in helping students meet the standards. Therefore, in addition to having universal content standards and student performance standards, Delaware classroom teachers will be provided with suggested learning events and teaching practices to help them help their students meet the performance standards. A variety of learning approaches will be shown to help teachers meet the needs of all students

and to help teachers design their own classroom activities. Deciding how best to enhance student learning is the implementation part and will be addressed principally at the local district level by education professionals closest to the classroom (e.g., teachers, principals, superintendents, and local boards of education).

To assist in implementing New Directions in Delaware public schools, networks of districts and schools, as well as subject matter professionals, will be formed to help one another in devising successful instruction that guides each student to the established mastery levels of performance. Currently, Project 301 links mathematics teachers and specialists in each of Delaware's 170 public schools and 131 non-public schools. Similarly, the New Directions partnership (among the 19 Delaware school districts) is establishing networks of School Partners—Teacher Teams and Parent Teams. This mechanism is intended to link the work of the Curriculum Framework Commissions and school-level reform efforts.

Delaware now has the opportunity to lay the foundation for decades of solid, sustained educational progress. With the New Directions reform strategies and agenda, Delaware can establish expectations that will lead the state and its young people to greater reward and progress. And in the process Delaware can become a model for the nation.

Questions for Further Discussion

We return to our original premise. That is, as each of the state and national projects that we have described moves forward to establish content and student performance standards, they will all eventually have to grapple with the same issues:

1. How should standards be set for students with special needs?
2. Should disadvantaged students or those with limited English proficiency or disabilities be held to the same standards of performance as other students?
3. Are different accommodations needed to assess different groups of students fairly, and if so, what would those accommodations be?
4. What assurances are needed that the national drive to achieve higher standards, more rigorous curricula, and more demanding assessments will not be attained at the expense of students who have not had the same opportunity to learn challenging subject matter?

Our question to this audience is whether there is sufficient consensus among this community of scholars and practitioners to answer these questions now or in the near future. We would urge the Center for Applied Linguistics to continue to play a leadership role in convening more symposia of this type to ponder and debate these issues.

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Native Americans have experienced policies established by governments that have fluctuated between the destruction of their heritage languages and the relearning of those languages for cultural and social, as well as academic reasons.

LANGUAGE, LEARNING, AND NATIONAL GOALS: A NATIVE AMERICAN VIEW

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The development of a person's language skills has long been recognized as necessary to building one's intellectual abilities and to achieving success in schooling and the academic community. In the United States (and the Americas in general), Native Americans have experienced policies established by governments that have fluctuated between the destruction of their heritage languages and the relearning of those languages for cultural and social, as well as academic reasons. Practical experience in the last 500 years demonstrates that the public's attitudes and practices concerning language in the academic and social setting significantly influence what indigenous peoples do with their historical languages for cultural reasons (Indian Nations at Risk Task Force, 1991).

More recently the use of a youngster's Native language as the medium of instruction in his/her education, when it is the language of the home, has gained recognition among educators as important in developing that youngster's intellectual skills. The use of a Native language as the medium of instruction to rebuild historical languages among Native peoples where those languages are being lost is gaining support among Native leaders, parents, and educators for social, educational, and cultural reasons (Indian Nations at Risk Task Force, 1991; Title I, Public Law 101-477, Native American Languages Act of 1990).

What we have learned about developing a person's language base, the importance of language to cognitive and intellectual development, and the role of languages in the economies of industrial nations, requires all of us, including the Native community, to step back and consider what is happening in our schools, what has happened to our children's attitudes about Native languages, and what is happening in government policy with regard to aboriginal languages not spoken by the majority or economically dominant population.

We must also take a closer look at the relationships of language to academic performance. We must develop a clear understanding of the public attitudes about languages that are different from official or national languages. Let us look at what we have learned in the Native community by reviewing three educational models that I am familiar with, models that the American Indian, Native Alaskan, and Native Hawaiian have all experienced.

The Klawock Model

In 1967 in the small Native village of Klawock, Alaska, the new superintendent of schools believed that there was a direct connection between respect for the local Native language and culture and an understanding of the traditional, historical mores, on the one hand, and academic and social success in school on the other. In addition, he felt that the local knowledge base could be passed on to the students by community language experts, historians, and parents. A majority of the teachers in the school held and supported a similar position. The people in the village were split, with a majority of the community leadership and a majority of the parents excited about the whole idea.

The model that was developed began with informal discussions between the superintendent and teachers about how the school curriculum needed to change in order to better accommodate more community participation and Tlingit language and cultural activity.

There was some discussion with several of the local elders, the school board (all local Native parents), and the local Native organization that focused on social, political, and cultural issues (Klawock Alaska Native Sisterhood). After those preliminary discussions the superintendent met with a small group of the teachers and developed a detailed plan in the form of several applications for supplementary monies for salaries and for honoraria for community experts.

The original plans naturally changed as ideas were expanded or modified to fit funding requirements for a variety of federal programs. The program as implemented included a summer program to train parents of schoolchildren as teacher aides. The program was planned and implemented by the local teachers. This part of the program included additional winter and summer classes for academic credit for the teacher aides who wished to expand their knowledge base through formal instruction. The activities allowed the community participants to work towards teacher certification. Two of the original six parents became certified teachers. A third became the director of an early childhood education program that survives today. A local Native recognized as an expert in the Tlingit language and several elders knowledgeable about the art, dance, and legends of the Tlingit were identified and recruited.

The superintendent and several teachers worked with the language expert to develop a schedule, to create a curriculum, and to discuss teaching and organizational strategies. The community elders recruited for teaching the art and music of the Tlingit did not go through any formal preparation other than what they organized themselves for after-school activities. Each elder presenting legends and other cultural activities in the classroom was separately coached by the individual teachers. The local Native custodian was allowed to sit and meet with the parents and elders to outline a daily schedule for after-school activity.

The school was open every evening from 7:00 to 10:00 pm Monday through Friday. The students from kindergarten through grade 8 spent at least two days a week on language instruction, listening to legends, and singing activity, and almost every day in some project associated with music and the visual arts. The students also spent evenings working on their art projects and Native dancing. At the end of the school year a major presentation was made by the students for the community. In this program the students danced, sang, and wore the traditional costumes each of them made with the help of parents and elders.

Sometime during early spring the local post office mistress (a local Native community leader) cornered the superintendent and said "I don't know what you are doing in the school this year, but I've spent years watching the children go past the post office on their way to school. They almost always played around, taking as long as possible and only running when the last bell rang so they wouldn't be too late. They now go to school early, wait for the doors to open, and no longer dilly-dally. Even the kids that are sick will not stay home and insist on going to school."

A very important component was added to the Klawock program in 1973 by a proposal initiated by the same superintendent and local Native leaders. This was the planning and development of a community-based early childhood education program. This program included parenting activities, English language development, and some cultural activity. In addition, the local village Native corporation established a scholarship fund for postsecondary education that includes both technical/vocational and university scholarships. (Information from personal involvement as the superintendent, and telephone interview with Morris Ververs, superintendent of the school, 1992.)

Over the years the Native language and cultural program in Klawock eroded, but according to the current superintendent, a refocus on the program, concentrating on quality, has improved the overall climate of opinion towards the school and schooling.

In Klawock's annual report and educational plan one finds that over the past five years there has been less than a one percent dropout rate (three or four students) with 50 percent of the students going on to college. The superintendent estimates that about one-half of those going to college will finish with their undergraduate degree (Klawock Public Schools, 1992).

The Lower Kuskokwim School District Model

In Bethel, Alaska the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) developed the Primary Eskimo Program in the late 1960s under the U.S. Office of Education's original Title I Elementary and Secondary Education Act monies. When the transfer of schools from BIA to state public schools occurred in the late 1980s, the newly created state public school district continued the program.

This model created by the Bureau of Indian Affairs included an intensive summer and continuing education component for associate Native Yup'ik teachers and white teachers that served as supervisors for the associate teachers. Kindergarten students were taught in Yup'ik by certified Native teachers or by associate teachers under the general supervision of non-Yup'ik-speaking teachers. This was done because of the lack of Native speakers for the classroom. The kindergarten students spent all but 30 minutes of the day in class with Yup'ik as the language of instruction. In the first grade, four hours of instruction were in Yup'ik and one hour in English. The second graders spent three hours in Yup'ik as the language of instruction, with three hours in English. In the third grade, the percentages were reversed and only one hour was devoted to Yup'ik as the language of the classroom, with four hours devoted to English. In the fourth grade the language for the class became all English.

One of the most time-consuming and difficult components of the program was the development of appropriate curriculum for the K-3 grades. According to the superintendent, this problem currently serves as a barrier to expanding Yup'ik as the language of instruction to the middle school. The high school has adopted the teaching of Yup'ik as a subject, in the same way foreign languages are taught.

When the transfer of schools from the BIA to a public school district took place, the new school district found it too expensive to continue the extensive training and inservice program. In the past three to four years, the school board substituted a career ladder opportunity for associate teachers interested in certification to pursue a regular college degree in teaching after accumulating 60 hours of college credit towards a degree.

Several components have been added since the program's original conception. Community preschool programs were begun, using Yup'ik as their language of instruction. These programs now number 14 preschool programs, out of 23 schools in the district. In the high school, in addition to the Yup'ik language class, a life skills curriculum has been developed. The elders of the community, with help from the associate teachers, developed the life skills component and curriculum.

Under the current structure, each village school board must approve the language and cultural focus in order for it to become part of that local school's curriculum. Each program is individually tailored to meet the respective community priorities and beliefs about the role of Native languages and culture in the class.

The Lower Kuskokwim school district superintendent believes that at least two-thirds of the parents and community leaders support the program. The April 1992 assessment of the 1991 high school graduates shows that 26 percent of the students who went on to college were still in school. In addition, the number of Yup'ik-speaking certified teachers has grown from 23 in 1988 to 42 in 1992.

The current superintendent was a teacher in the system when the program was initiated. As a teacher and superintendent she has had 25 years' experience in the school district. She believes that the standardized tests administered as part of a state-required testing program do not accurately report the academic skills developed by the students. The tests are also not a predictor of success in college for the students who choose to continue their education. She believes that extending the early childhood education program to all villages is an important goal for improving academic performance and strengthening the program. (Personal knowledge and telephone interview with Sue Hare, superintendent of the school, 1992.)

The Punana Leo Hawaiian Language Preschool and Kaiapuni Hawai'i Public Hawaiian Language Schools Model

The Punana Leo Hawaiian Language Preschool Program (modeled after the Maori Kohanga Reo program in New Zealand) was initiated in 1984. It is an indigenous language immersion preschool program. All instruction is conducted in Hawaiian with English not allowed on the school grounds. As children graduated from the Punana Leo, the program expanded to public elementary schools as the Kaiapuni Hawai'i Hawaiian Immersion Program. All instruction, including instruction in English, is through the Hawaiian language. In January 1992, the State Board of Education approved the continuation of the Hawaiian Immersion program through high school.

There are Punana Leo preschools in all four counties of the state. They are run by the communities in which they are located, in partnership with a state board of Hawaiian-speaking educators, and the Hale Kuamo'o Hawaiian language center of the University of Hawaii at Hilo. University classes train teachers, parents, and traditional students in the Hawaiian language, culture, and traditional teaching methods. University students serve as aides in the Punana Leo and Kaiapuni Hawai'i sites, work in after-school and summer programs for the children, and help produce curricula. Students also teach parent groups, since Punana Leo parents are required, and Kaiapuni Hawai'i parents are encouraged, to study Hawaiian in order to support use of Hawaiian in the home.

The approximately 500 children in these programs typically come from English-speaking homes, since Hawaiian is now the natural language of only great-grandparents and some grandparents. Exceptions are children raised speaking Hawaiian either by parents who learned Hawaiian in the university or by parents with connections to a tiny community of 1200 people who still speak Hawaiian as their daily language.

Hawaiian is an official language of the State of Hawaii, and all public elementary schools must teach some of the language to students. The special Kaiapuni Hawai'i programs are often a Hawaiian language stream in a school that otherwise uses English as the medium of instruction. Non-Hawaiian children are accepted in the special Hawaiian programs, but at present non-Hawaiian students number less than one percent. The Kaiapuni Hawai'i programs where some English is taught are seen as balancing the English-medium programs where some Hawaiian is taught. The impetus for the Punana Leo and

Kaiapuni Hawai'i was the lack of success of the Hawaiian language classes in the typical English-medium program in producing children truly fluent and literate in Hawaiian.

Because all children in the Hawaiian-medium programs already speak English, formal English instruction is restricted to one hour daily of English literacy training, beginning in the fifth grade. The children are performing at grade level or above in English as well as in Hawaiian. For 1992, the State fifth grade free verse poetry contest winner was a student from a Hawaiian immersion program, and other students were designated gifted and talented in English. (*Ke Kuamo'o,* 1992)

The students from preschool through grade 6 (the top grade at present) are excited about school, about life. The classes are well organized and action packed, with traditional music and poetry as a basic component for the youngsters' daily activity. The instructors and parents are totally committed to seeing that every student succeeds and that Hawaiian ideals and values are upheld in the daily schedule of the children. As the youngsters move through the program (from preschool up through the grades) their command of English develops as their command of Hawaiian is strengthened. (Personal knowledge and personal communication with Bill Wilson.) Again, the absence of curriculum for the preschool as well as for the elementary school grades is seen as a problem.

Producing enough teachers through the university and finding sites to develop or expand programs like those in Alaska and Hawaii which have been described here, continue to be a challenge. An important part of all the programs mentioned is the developmental nature of the locally created curriculum. The process of learning for the teachers and for the students is enhanced as they jointly work on materials and texts. Where parents and elders participate, their development is also enhanced.

The administrators of these early childhood, elementary school, and university programs are constantly struggling for adequate and continued funding. From my observations, the participating students are succeeding academically, socially, and culturally in percentages far above the norm for the majority of Native students generally in the United States and in the Circumpolar North.

As the Native American Communities (American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian) search for ways to enhance the academic performance of students, strengthen their Native heritage language base, and retain those aspects of the earlier cultures that are still important to their identity as Native, the three models above (and others like them) must be observed closely and described objectively to help all of us better understand the characteristics of these programs that are important to their success.

Proposal for a Community-Based Model of Education

We know what the research says about early childhood education, about effective schooling, about community attitudes and support, and about language as key to academic, social, and cultural development. We have learned what not to do in the last 500 years of domination by visitors from other places. We have learned that many of our own experiences in training the young over thousands of years included practices that the researcher of today is finally recognizing as important to success in training and educating today's youth and preparing them for their role as adults.

My grandmother knew that a young girl's diet was important to the health of any children she would bear as a young mother; that it was important to let young children explore to satisfy their curiosity; that it was necessary to develop their physical skills early; that it is critical to have extended opportunity to lis-

ten to oral speech and practice that speech. The Tlingit learned early in their history that paternal uncles and other members of the family were important partners in the educational process young children experienced, for these mentors would not tolerate failure. In the Tlingit culture everyone was expected to succeed in developing the skills and in learning the knowledge important to their participation as members of the larger society and to their culture. My ancestors were eager to gain new knowledge, to benefit from the skills and information that people from outside the community could offer. We know that local knowledge is important, but that there is much to learn from other communities.

The national goals must be consistent with goals of the nation's local schools and communities while challenging us to build a multicultural, pluralistic society.

In that context I would propose a model of education that begins with local knowledge and skills as a base from which to improve schools and schooling for Native children.

I have a friend that sent me a draft article in 1986 that described a community-based education model that incorporated much of what the effective programs mentioned above practice. It was innovative, well thought out, and relevant for improving schools today. It included the identification of a theme for the school, a traditional activity central to the community. It included the use of the traditional leaders, the skilled hunters, the artists, and the linguists of the community. It was designed to incorporate modern technology and knowledge in a way that would build upon the language and cultural base of the community rather than tear it down. It was designed to build upon the strengths of the community.

Her idea was to build a curriculum around whaling as an activity central to the community. The school would use that activity as the core of the educational program. The school and community would build the academic program around the life cycle of the whale, around the village activity surrounding the whale, and strengthen their cultural identity as a base for developing the skills important to the 21st century. The science, the mathematics, the language arts, the curriculum of the school would all tie back to the central activity of whaling. The community's economic ties, social activity, cultural base, and language would all be strengthened while being reflected in the curriculum. The villagers would be active participants in the educational process, and the students would have local adult models representing both local and academic professionals to learn from. The best in modern equipment would be available to incorporate into the schooling process. Interactive video, computers, and computerized library and research systems would be available for use by students and teachers alike. Part of the learning process would be enhanced by the process of developing the curriculum (the texts, the teaching materials, the pedagogy of the classroom).

It is a model that would concentrate on the Native language as the language of instruction. It would build a partnership between the school and community, it would make use of modern technology and materials, it would begin the curriculum using the wisdom of local experts and knowledge, it would bring in the knowledge and experiences of the broader world, and it would train the Native and non-Native teachers alike to work with the curriculum and

the students and parents of the community. It would provide each community the opportunity to identify a central theme and activity central to the community. It would build a program that is designed to meet the community's priorities (MacLean, 1986 and telephone interview, 1992).

As we begin to meet the local goals and priorities of our local communities and schools, I believe we will begin reaching our nation's goals and priorities for schools. The national goals must be consistent with goals of the nation's local schools and communities while challenging us to build a new society—a multicultural, pluralistic society where mutual respect and understanding eliminate prejudice and discrimination; where the political power, the economic power, the social power and structure are not dependent upon race, ethnic origin, or gender, but upon what each of us has to offer to our community, to the nation, and to the world communities.

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In addition to the above publications, descriptions of the three programs were based upon my personal recollections as the superintendent (for the Klawock model) and upon revisions suggested by each of the current superintendents in the school districts discussed, as well as revisions suggested by William Wilson. Edna MacLean generously agreed to having her proposed model summarized for this paper.

Appendix

National Education Goals for American Indians and Alaska Natives

Goal 1: Readiness for School

By the year 2000 all Native children will have access to early childhood education programs that provide the language, social, physical, spiritual, and cultural foundations they need to succeed in school and to reach their full potential as adults.

Goal 2: Maintain Native Languages and Cultures

By the year 2000 all schools will offer Native students the opportunity to maintain and develop their tribal languages and will create a multicultural environment that enhances the many cultures represented in the school.

Goal 3: Literacy

By the year 2000 all Native children in school will be literate in the language skills appropriate for their individual levels of development. They will be competent in their English oral, reading, listening, and writing skills.

Goal 4: Student Academic Achievement

By the year 2000 every Native student will demonstrate mastery of English, mathematics, science, history, geography, and other challenging academic skills necessary for an educated citizenry.

Goal 5: High School Graduation

By the year 2000 all Native students capable of completing high school will graduate. They will demonstrate civic, social, creative, and critical thinking skills necessary for ethical, moral, and responsible citizenship and important in modern tribal, national, and world societies.

Goal 6: High-Quality Native and Non-Native School Personnel

By the year 2000 the numbers of Native educators will double, and the colleges and universities that train the nation's teachers will develop a curriculum that prepares teachers to work effectively with the variety of cultures, including the Native cultures, that are served by schools.

Goal 7: Safe and Alcohol-Free and Drug-Free Schools

By the year 2000 every school responsible for educating Native students will be free of alcohol and drugs and will provide safe facilities and an environment conducive to learning.

Goal 8: Adult Education and Lifelong Learning

By the year 2000 every Native adult will have the opportunity to be literate and to obtain the necessary academic, vocational, and technical skills and knowledge needed to gain meaningful employment and to exercise the rights and responsibilities of tribal and national citizenship.

Goal 9: Restructuring Schools

By the year 2000 schools serving Native children will be restructured to effectively meet the academic, cultural, spiritual, and social needs of students for developing strong, healthy, self-sufficient communities.

Goal 10: Parental, Community, and Tribal Partnerships

By the year 2000 every school responsible for educating Native students will provide opportunities for Native parents and tribal leaders to help plan and evaluate the governance, operation, and performance of their educational programs.

While we may applaud the efforts of government and school officials to improve the nation's school system, experience warns us to be watchful that *all* children participate in the benefits of such worthwhile initiatives.

THE EDUCATION OF HISPANIC AMERICANS

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It should be cause for celebration that the leadership of this nation has decided to embark upon an education strategy for the year 2000 that includes the six ambitious National Education Goals. By many accounts, the United States has been falling steadily behind the rest of the world in providing its citizens the kind of quality education expected from a global power. At a recent higher education conference, Dr. Lester Thurow, Dean of the Sloan School of Management at MIT, made an interesting recommendation. He suggested that if parents wanted their children to get the best overall education from kindergarten to the doctorate, they should send their children to a Japanese elementary school, a German secondary school, a British undergraduate college, and an American graduate school.

There was both good and bad news for America in Dr. Thurow's assessment. The good news is that the United States is still the uncontested world leader in graduate education, proof of which is the high number of foreign students who come to America to obtain their advanced degrees. The bad news is that American elementary and secondary education leaves a great deal to be desired. According to one report, "It is alarming that Americans' scientific literacy has decreased as our world has become more scientific and technological" (ERIC, 1991, p. 4). American students have not done much better in geography, ranking near the bottom in a recent international assessment of geographical knowledge (Salter, 1990). Under these circumstances, the work of the National Education Goals Panel is very welcome.

It is equally gratifying that the Center for Applied Linguistics has convened this symposium to focus on Goal 3 and its impact on minority populations. If the picture of American education is a bleak one, then the status of education among minorities in the United States is nothing short of tragic. We do not need to recite the litany of educational, economic, and social ills that affect United States minorities, since they are well known to groups like this one. One example about Hispanics should suffice to make the point. A Ford Foundation report (Díaz, 1984) indicates that Hispanics "form a seriously disadvantaged population" in terms of median income, employment, education, discrimination, alienation, and poverty levels (p. 6).

While we may applaud the efforts of government and school officials to improve the nation's school system, experience warns us to be watchful that **all** children participate in the benefits of such worthwhile initiatives. It is essential that educators, specialists, researchers, administrators, and policymakers who care about the educational plight of language and ethnic minority populations remain vigilant and contribute their talents, expertise, and influence to the task of bettering the education of these minority groups along with the education of the general population.

One constructive way to contribute to the efforts of the National Education Goals project, while at the same time looking after the interests of minority populations, is to formulate and bring to the attention of educators and policymakers guidelines that should be observed in designing interventions for the inclusion of minority populations. The specific objectives of Goal 3 make reference to various areas (National Education Goals Panel, 1991):

1. proportional representation of minorities in the educational progress experienced by elementary and secondary students in the major subject areas of English, math, science, history, and geography;

2. improvement in cognitive skills, problem-solving strategies, application of knowledge, and effective communication;
3. development of good habits of citizenship, community service, and personal responsibility;
4. maintenance and development of bilingual capacity;
5. increased multiculturalism.

Nobody can deny that these are valid and noble objectives; advocates for the minority populations should be more than happy to collaborate in any effort that strives to realize these ends. At the same time it should be clear that a select group of education professionals like the one gathered here today can offer sound advice and assistance to educators, policymakers, and legislators as they attempt to provide equality of opportunity and quality of offerings to our minority populations, specifically Hispanic Americans.

It is safe to assume that the above objectives will be embedded in a series of programmatic options encompassing such areas as program models, assessment practices, curriculum models, teacher training programs, and counseling/guidance interventions. It is to be expected that various government entities at the local, state, and federal levels will participate in these efforts. To them and to the national panel we should direct the following observations to guide the implementation of progressive educational initiatives.

I have divided my presentation in two parts. In the first part I will make various points regarding the diversity of Hispanic populations in the United States, the assessment of their needs and progress, instructional language concerns, curricular and staffing needs, school environment, parental involvement, and counseling. In the second part I will address the implications of these issues for the realization of Goal 3 of the National Education Goals.

Factors to Consider in Program Planning

Diversity of Hispanics

When majority groups seek to serve Hispanics, there is a natural tendency to attempt to identify the Hispanic population by first dividing the universe into minority and non-minority camps, then subdividing the non-minority sector into Hispanics and non-Hispanics and finally isolating the Hispanics and proposing programs for them. Program planners should be reminded of the tremendous diversity that characterizes Hispanic populations and of the resulting diverse needs. To be sure, the great majority of Hispanics share a common language and, to a lesser extent, a common culture. But as Díaz (1984) emphasizes, each of the various Hispanic groups "has its own immigration and settlement history, its own current demographic and socio-economic status, its own perceptions of itself and of its place in United States society, and its own internal diversity" (p. 9). Awareness of this diversity may prevent program planners from defining the educational problems of Hispanics almost exclusively as language problems (Orfeld, 1986), and will help them realize that Hispanic professionals have a role to play outside of bilingual programs.

The diversity of Hispanics is reflected superficially in family names (the Kellys and Lewises of Panama, the Giboyeauxs of Puerto Rico, the Timmermans of Argentina), and less superficially in the rainbow of skin colors deriving from Caucasian, African, and Indian ancestries. There is also great numerical variation. The 1980 United States Bureau of the Census (1981) counted 14.6 million Hispanics on the United States mainland, and identified 60 percent of them as Mexican American, 14 percent as Puerto Ricans, 6 percent as Cubans, and 20 percent as other Hispanic. Unfortunately, these numbers are derived from self-identification; they do not include the 3 million resi-

dents of the island of Puerto Rico, who would put Puerto Ricans in second place ahead of the "other Hispanics" category, or the many uncounted Latinos who would be likely to swell the final count to nearly 20 million (Díaz, 1984).

There are other elements of this Hispanic diversity which are more critical to the endeavors of the Goals Panel. Orfeld (1986) reminds us that the Hispanic/Latino/Spanish/Latin American umbrella "includes people from numerous and very different national backgrounds: new immigrants from rural villages to those who have had families in the United States for generations, those who live in poverty in the barrios to those who have intermarried and live in the suburbs, and from monolingual Spanish speakers to those who never learned Spanish" (p. 3).

These variations in degree of bilingualism and biculturalism, in degree and quality of prior schooling, in socio-economic status, and in age of arrival in the United States can have a significant impact on the kind of programmatic intervention that may be recommended for the improvement of the educational status of Hispanics in this nation. Much has been made of the image of a first grader sitting helpless in a class full of incomprehensible (English) input, but there are also large numbers of other Hispanic students from urban areas who have a decent command of English and still have serious educational problems. Such a scenario led three Hispanic educators to address the plight of "the Hispanic child who speaks no Spanish—who may, in fact, be discouraged from learning the language by parents who mistakenly feel they are helping the child make a quicker transition to the dominant culture." Entitled *Educating the English-speaking Hispanics* (Valverde, Castro-Feinberg, & Márquez, 1980), this volume is an attempt to address the needs of one neglected element of the existing diversity among Hispanic groups.

Language of Assessment

Assessment is a very important component of any planned change and crucial in the educational field. In the context of the education of Hispanic populations, there are dual concerns about assessment: what to assess and through which language vehicle. Perhaps native language assessment is more controversial and more misunderstood than English language assessment, but each type of assessment brings with it particular problems and concerns.

Theoretical aspects of assessment, such as the quality and availability of tests, test administration, and cultural bias will not be discussed here. These and other technical issues have been covered in detail in recent articles by De Avila (1990) and Baca (1990). Instead I would like to review some caveats about the assessment of English language proficiency and of academic progress through English, and to suggest a broader role for native language assessment.

Probably the most troublesome aspect of second language assessment of Hispanics is how to assess English language proficiency for purposes of identification (selection), placement (entry), treatment (instruction), and reassignment (exit), and how to correlate measures of English language proficiency (or its components) with academic progress. Planners must be apprised about the complexity of language proficiency; they should be cautioned to avoid the pitfall of equating success in one very visible aspect of English language proficiency (namely oral fluency) with the totality of language competence, and should be advised not to further assume that a Hispanic student who tests well in English oral proficiency is ready to do academic work in English.

As Cummins (1984) points out, command of simple communicative skill does not imply educational sufficiency. De George (1988) reminds us that oral skills

alone may not be sufficient for a student to acquire content-area knowledge, and O'Malley (1989) sees a need for assessors to "shift from identifying isolated language skills to gaining a broader understanding of a student's ability to convey meaningful utterances through speech and writing."

Native language testing, though it may give rise to additional assessment problems, needs to be seriously considered by program planners.

Native language testing, though it may give rise to additional assessment problems, needs to be seriously considered by program planners. In the first place, one of the objectives of Goal 3 involves the development of bilingual capacity, which in the case of many Hispanics is half present at the outset in the form of Spanish or English monolingualism. Secondly, native language testing can be utilized to identify those Hispanic students eligible for gifted and talented programs who are currently not participating because of misguided notions that giftedness cannot occur in the absence of English language proficiency. As Melesky (1985) strongly suggests, "Spanish and Spanish—language evaluative materials must be made available during the identification; so too should the child's preferred language be used in resource room activities" (p. 51).

Native language testing for such purposes would be consonant with another Goal 3 objective which seeks proportional representation of minorities in successful educational endeavors. If the National Education Goals initiative seeks to encourage Hispanic students to make significant progress in math, science, history, and geography, it stands to reason that bilingual education programs will be one of the vehicles to achieve this aim. In such a case, it is pedagogically wise to assess academic achievement through the students' native language.

School districts should be more amenable to testing Hispanics in their native language for other reasons. It is essential that schools know, once they have determined that a Hispanic student is "PEP-py" (potentially English proficient), what his other strengths and weaknesses might be. There is a tendency to see LEP kids as having some sort of disease—LEPness—that incapacitates them to do anything else until their command of English improves. A child who is literate in his own language, who has received a decent education in his native country, or comes from a family with traditional educational values, should be treated differently programmatically from a student whose PEPness is just one of many educational problems.

We must help educators to overcome their objections to using Spanish for assessment purposes; to combat their claims that "Spanish assessment is too expensive," that "we don't have the personnel," that "we don't have the instruments," that "it promotes laziness," that "this is America!" In view of the fact that part of Goal 3 involves increased second language competence for all students, giving Hispanics a chance to show how much they know and can do through Spanish seems eminently fair and just. Unfortunately, few states currently require assessment of home language proficiency. Fradd and Tikunoff (1987) cite a recent Development Associates survey indicating that only about two percent of the reporting districts use data on home language proficiency to determine student eligibility for special services.

Language of Instruction

With the emphasis of the Goals Panel on content acquisition in math, science, and other subjects, instruction through the students' native language deserves serious consideration. Whether this instruction is part of an extensive bilingual program or is offered electively in schools with substantial Hispanic populations is not the main issue. A good argument

40

Instruction through the students' native language deserves serious consideration.

can be made—as is made regularly to support the advantages of transitional bilingual education programs—that students can continue to make progress academically in subject matter through the native language while they learn English via an established English as a second language (ESL) program.

Undoubtedly, these Spanish courses must be carefully designed and coordinated with the mainstream curriculum, and must be staffed by well-trained and credentialed professionals. It is unfortunate that oftentimes the preparation of non-English teaching personnel is not given the careful scrutiny afforded to the training of personnel who teach in English, with predictable consequences. It is distressing to see that aides are predominantly assigned the task of teaching in Spanish, while licensed teachers are placed in the English-language portion of the curriculum.

I have visited a number of bilingual classrooms in various states, and have discovered that the "bilingual" teacher is not always fluent in the students' native language. It is imperative that the teacher charged with imparting content to the students in the native language be fully competent in Spanish and also be knowledgeable about the subject matter being taught. Otherwise this type of instruction will not be equivalent in quality to the instruction imparted through English and will contribute to the further erosion of the credibility of bilingual education.

Bilingual and ESL professionals have a responsibility to ensure that the issue of language of instruction is handled with total candor. I have spoken to a number of public school teachers who are disturbed by the practice of assigning children to bilingual classrooms or programs to be taught primarily in Spanish when these children are in fact English dominant and the program cannot properly address their needs. Decisions about student placement should be made primarily on educational grounds, not on the basis of politics or extraneous policy. Ultimately, what is important to recognize is that bilingual education must play a crucial role in the fulfillment of Goal 3. The quality of the bilingual instruction, especially of the native language component, will influence the eventual educational outcomes of the treatment.

Nature of Instruction

While I counsel my students in a teacher education course not to take their roles as **teachers** too seriously—meaning that a good teacher knows the limits of her power and influence—we cannot deny that teachers play an important role—negative or positive—in the academic and personal progress of our students.

One of the first considerations in planning educational programs for Hispanic students is the quality of the personnel that is assigned to teach these students. We need to ask ourselves the following questions:

1. How many mainstream teachers have been trained to work with language and cultural minorities?
2. How many teachers consign the students to the back of the room to fend for themselves because the teachers don't know what else to do with them?
3. How many other teachers—not necessarily bad teachers—are working with Hispanics without having had a **single course** or workshop on learning styles, crosscultural communication, a foreign language, learning strategies, or cooperative learning?
4. How many teachers are reassigned to teach in the ESL or bilingual program because the district doesn't have any other assignment for them or wants to

move them out of another position where they are not doing so well?

5. How many teachers have been put to work with Hispanics because they like them, admire them, respect them, and want to help them succeed?

It is not fair to provide moral and fiscal support for "foreign" language education, but to tell Hispanic kids to look to the home and family for preservation of their ethnic heritage.

Those who work with Hispanics should come with the proper attitude and training or be retooled or reassigned. Unfortunately, the teacher preparation picture has not been very rosy for at least a decade when it comes to teachers of LEP students. From their analysis of the findings from the 1980-81 Teachers Language Skills Survey (TLSS), Waggoner and O'Malley (1985) concluded that a substantial portion (345,000) of the 504,000 teachers who by their own report have LEP students in their classrooms were not "using a non-English language or ESL with their LEP students" (p. 41).

Teachers of Hispanic students, whether ESL/bilingual specialists or mainstream teachers, should be reminded that Hispanic students are the responsibility of the **whole** school system, not just of the bilingual/ESL staff. This means that every teacher is a teacher of language and every teacher is a teacher of content. The implications are that ESL teachers must be made aware of new pedagogical developments such as teaching language through content (Mohan, 1990; Valdez-Pierce, 1987), while mainstream teachers should be shown how to incorporate language development into subject matter teaching (Hamayan, 1990; Secada, 1989).

Hamayan (1990) has identified three important roles that mainstream teachers need to play with their PEP students, and suggests that teacher training should prepare them to play these roles: mediator and facilitator of learning; facilitator in the acquisition of ESL skills, particularly the CALP (cognitive academic language proficiency) variety; and proficient model of authentic comprehensible input outside the classroom. Secada (1989) has proposed two approaches for teaching LEP students academic skills in mathematics—Cognitively Guided Instruction and Active Mathematics Teaching. Hamayan and Perlman (1990) have prepared a guide specifically aimed at mainstream teachers who want to be especially helpful to language minority students about to be mainstreamed into the all-English classroom. The guide contains a list of the predominant language functions required in content areas such as science, math, and social studies and provides sample assessment instruments to measure these functions.

Specialists (particularly ESL instructors) need to be trained to impart content in their classes, to teach language through content. Advances in second language acquisition, particularly the results of the Canadian immersion studies (Swain, 1987), suggest that the grammatical syllabus has little pedagogical validity, and that the ESL teacher should rely on situational, communicative, and notional contexts. Another important role that bilingual/ESL specialists can fulfill is that of maintaining collaborative and coordinating relationships with mainstream teachers, who are likely to require assistance in addressing the language and content needs of their language minority students.

If, as the objectives of the National Education Goals propose, our Hispanic students are to learn to use their minds well and be prepared for further learning,

their education must consist of something other than content and basic skills. It is essential that our students be familiarized with learning strategies because, as Stewner-Manzanares and others (1985) indicate, "Learning strategies are important for effective learning, [learning] strategies can be taught, and students taught how to use them will learn more effectively and will apply them in other language situations outside the classroom" (p. 1).

School Environment

One of the objectives of Goal 3 is to help the student become "knowledgeable about the diverse cultural heritage of his nation and about the world community." An appropriate question to ask is: how multicultural is the school environment and the curriculum? A multicultural environment begins with the population and the physical setting but should not end there. Ideally, the classrooms will reflect a multiplicity of faces, colors, and ethnicities not only among the students but also among the staff. The buildings themselves will be adorned with evidence of multiculturalness in posters, paintings, famous figures, signs, maps, and menus.

Equally important, the curriculum will reflect the physical aspects of multiculturality in foreign language options, music, physical education, math, social studies, history, and literature offerings. If a building has a preponderance of students from one ethnic group, efforts should be made to highlight the language and culture of that group by encouraging its members to actively preserve their cultural heritage. It is important not to give the impression that it is all right for mainstream students to acquire an additional language and culture with the blessings of the educational establishment but that it isn't equally acceptable for language minority students to do likewise, again with the blessing of the school authorities. It is not fair to provide moral and fiscal support for "foreign" language education, but to tell Hispanic kids to look to the home and family for preservation of their ethnic heritage.

If any significant progress is to occur at the national level with regard to minority populations—Hispanic or others—the Goals Panel must counter the attacks on bilingual and multicultural education from entities such as U.S. English and from figures such as Arthur Schlesinger who attribute a "disuniting" influence to efforts to multiculturalize the curriculum, the schools, and the nation. Lip service and half-way measures will not work. What is needed are comprehensive initiatives that involve more than classrooms or programs, but whole schools, and which are not "showcase" examples limited to affluent neighborhoods and populations.

One excellent attempt to design an entire school with the objectives of the Goals Panel in mind was recently undertaken by the Yonkers, NY Board of Education, with the creation of the Eugenio María de Hostos Micro-Society School (Fedarko, 1992). Located in a low-income, working-class neighborhood in the Riverdale section of Yonkers, the Micro-Society School is one of only four such units in the United States. What is unique about Hostos is that it attempts to mirror the society architecturally, politically, economically, technologically, socially, and educationally. The school contains student-run learning centers that include a bank/loan center, courtroom, publishing center, government seat, telecommunication center, and a market place.

These structural amenities are not mere showcases. In keeping with the spirit of the school, students have developed their own constitution, government, and monetary system. They are given the opportunity to hold jobs, earn "money," pay taxes, and purchase goods and services. The school's primary goal is to teach the basics, to impart higher level thinking skills

and problem-solving techniques, and to prepare students to participate fully in a multicultural society. In keeping with this aim, all students are expected to acquire a second language, and language instruction in Spanish and English begins at the pre-K level.

Although the school is too young to have instituted measures of progress, the experiment has great potential for success and emulation. It has all the characteristics of effective programs for language minorities: well designed and heavily supported, easily accessible, attractive, staffed with competent and caring personnel, innovative, and reflective of the needs of the target population. The Goals Panel should be urged to recommend this type of initiative around the rest of the country.

Everyone does not have to end up in college to be a successful product of the educational system, so long as all those who *want to and are able to* make it in college are given the opportunity. What is important is to have viable alternatives for those who choose not to go to college.

Degree of Parental Involvement

Some people who subscribe to the notion that effective schools need to have a vital parental involvement apparatus in place begin to see only obstacles when it comes to Hispanic parental involvement: many Hispanic parents don't care about the education of their children; it's almost impossible to get them to participate; since they don't know enough English they don't benefit from activities when they do come; they can't be much help to their children academically because their English is not good enough.

We need to raise consciousness among educators and disabuse them of these notions. Yes, there are parents who fit the above profile, but they are the minority. Hispanic parents, like most other parents, care very much about the education of their children (Orfeld, 1986). What they need in many instances is first to be welcomed by the schools as potential partners, to be helped to become more familiar with the school system where they reside, to be given negotiating skills to manipulate the system to their children's benefit, and to be assisted to work with the teachers in helping the students progress academically (Adorno de Santiago, 1991).

Violand-Sánchez, et al. (1991, pp. 2-3) provide a list of five categories of parental involvement which schools can promote and for which they can provide assistance: providing for children's basic needs, communicating with school staff, volunteering or providing assistance at their child's school, supporting and participating in learning activities with their children at home, and participating in governance and advocacy activities. Adorno de Santiago (1991, p. 17) developed a simple eight-question "PIAQ" (Parental Involvement Attitudinal Quotient) for teachers and school administrators to plumb their attitudes about parents and parental involvement.

One role that neither teachers nor school officials should play is to tell the parents not to use the native language at home, particularly if the parents don't speak enough English. The danger inherent in this type of advice is that it may interfere with family communication. There are a number of things that parents—LEP or fluent in English—can do at home to improve their children's academic performance and comfort in school. They can keep in touch with the child about assignments and other school obligations; they can try to maintain a suitable home environment

for the child to do his homework; and they can establish homework schedules, ask to see the finished products, and show the child that his parents value reading and writing by engaging in these activities with or in front of the child.

Nature of Counseling/Guidance

The counseling/guidance function should not be the sole responsibility of the counselors; the whole school must get involved. The first obligation of the counseling function is to believe in the students' potential and avoid tracking. For too long, language minority students have been written off early in their education; they haven't received the moral and educational support given to many non-minorities. Hispanics tend to be underrepresented in gifted and talented groups, often because their incomplete command of English is equated with inability to perform above average norms. Melesky (1985) questions some definitions of giftedness and discusses three methods of selecting potentially gifted Hispanic children.

At the other end of the scale, those working in the counseling function need to be courageous in recognizing that everyone does not have to end up in college to be a successful product of the educational system, so long as all those who **want to and are able to** make it in college are given the opportunity. What is important is to have viable alternatives for those who choose not to go to college. Postsecondary education includes terminal associate degrees and career training in good vocational schools. In Lancaster, PA and Río Piedras, PR, for example, each county vocational school has a reputation for excellence, and the size of the waiting list provides eloquent testimony that there are acceptable alternatives to a college education. A speaker at a recent conference pointed to the quality of postsecondary education in Germany, where parents boast their good fortune if their children get into one of the apprenticeship programs.

Summary and Conclusions

In this paper I have identified seven factors to be taken into consideration by program planners seeking to devise educational initiatives for Hispanic populations in the context of Goal 3 of the National Education Goals. These factors are:

1. the heterogeneity of the Hispanic populations and the diversity of needs
2. issues in the language of assessment
3. the role of the native language in content instruction
4. the nature of instruction and the quality of instructional personnel
5. the multicultural nature of the school environment
6. parental involvement and school-community relations
7. the counseling/guidance function

Program planners are reminded that the Hispanic population has a great deal of variety in makeup and needs, and that effective programs must respond to this diversity of needs. Secondly, while the educational problems of Hispanics are not all due to language, Spanish does play a crucial role in any type of intervention, both in assessment and instruction. Thirdly, bilingual education continues to be a viable option for promoting the academic progress of Hispanics, in partnership with good language development programs in ESL. The use of Spanish both as a subject and a vehicle for content instruction is highly recommended.

I have stressed the need for qualified personnel, well trained, credentialed, and sensitive. I have indicated that a sound staff development policy will address the needs of both specialists and mainstream teachers, and will focus on new developments in content area instruction, language strategies, and learning styles (Violand Hainer, et al., 1990), among others.

It has been suggested that program planners need to go beyond classroom components and educational programs and focus on whole school buildings that reflect a multilingual, multicultural environment. The Hostos Micro-Society School in Yonkers, NY was held up as an example of the kind of initiative that holds promise for the educational progress of Hispanics, both because it is a well-planned experiment and because it takes place in the midst of a representative community.

Parental involvement and the counseling/guidance function were also discussed. The point was made that teachers and school officials must shed any misconceptions about Hispanic parental apathy toward the education of their children, must make the parents feel welcome in the schools, and should give the parents the skills to work within the system. With respect to counseling, guidance counselors and other support personnel have two essential tasks to perform: to ensure that Hispanics gain access to all opportunities for educational advancement, particularly to gifted and talented programs; and to familiarize students with suitable and productive postsecondary alternatives to a college education.

The National Education Goals Panel has a very ambitious task before it. It is hoped that Hispanics will be given the chance to share in the educational bounty; it is further hoped that program planners will have the opportunity to examine the outcome of the Center for Applied Linguistics Symposium on Goal 3 to guide their deliberations.

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Why has the school reform movement thus far had such a minimal impact on student achievement overall?

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS: IMPLICATIONS FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS AND OTHER MINORITIES

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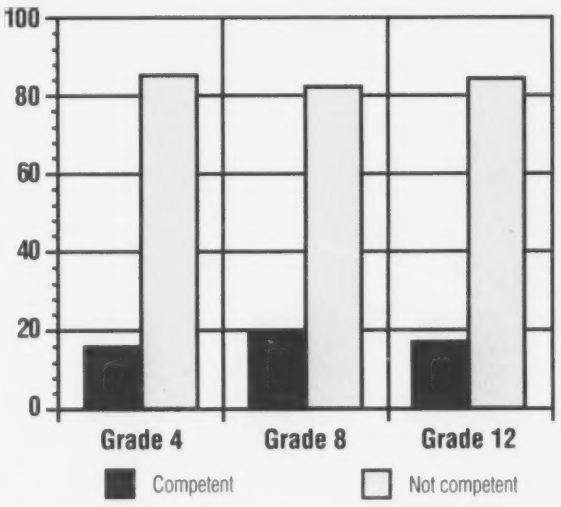
The six National Education Goals set by the nation's governors and President Bush at the 1989 education summit fix a destination for all children to reach by the year 2000. The National Education Goals Panel (NEGP) was established in 1990 to measure the nation's progress toward reaching the goals during the decade of the nineties. Thus far, NEGP has produced two reports (1991, 1992) which show that some headway is being made in increasing high school completion rates (Goal 2) and in making schools safer and more drug-free environments (Goal 6). These same reports, however, show few signs of progress with respect to meeting Goals 3 and 4. Goal 3 calls for students to demonstrate competency in challenging subject matter (English, science, mathematics, history, and geography) in grades 4, 8, and 12, while Goal 4 stipulates that American students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement by the year 2000.

The results of the International Assessment of Educational Progress (La Pointe, et al., 1992a; 1992b) compared the mathematics, science, and geography performance of 13-year-old American students with that of their counterparts in eight developed nations—Hungary, Slovenia, Canada, Soviet Union, Spain, Korea, Ireland, and Scotland. When the average performance of students in each area is ranked, American students place fifth in geography, last in mathematics, and eighth in science. These results mirror previous trends for American students on international assessments and show little evidence of progress.

These findings are not surprising, given the dismal performance of American students in mathematics and literacy as measured by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). Figure 1 shows the percentage of fourth, eighth, and twelfth grade students who achieve competency on the 1990 NAEP mathematics survey (see Mullis, et al., 1990).

Figure 1 Percentage of Students Who are Competent in Mathematics in Grades 4, 8, and 12



Source: Mullis, et al., 1990

Sadly, in 1990 the mathematics performance of well over three-quarters of American students lies below the level deemed competent by NAEP at each grade level, this despite almost a decade of school reform efforts inspired by the report, *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). NAEP surveys done in other areas during the 1980s (e.g., reading, writing, and science) produced results that were equally disheartening (see Mullis, et al., 1990). These findings pose an important question for the national goals initiative in the 1990s—

why has the school reform movement thus far had such a minimal impact on student achievement overall?

School Reform in the 1980s

The answer can be found in the focus of the reform movement during the early years (1983-86). *A Nation at Risk* generally is credited with igniting the 1980s school reform movement. In its list of indicators of risk, the Commission highlighted the poor standing of American students on international comparisons of student achievement, rising levels of functional illiteracy among adults and youth, and declines in student scores on standardized achievement and ability tests such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). The Commission made several recommendations to turn the tide. It called for strengthening state and local high school graduation requirements and ensuring that "at minimum" students receive a curriculum grounded in the "new basics." Unfortunately, much of the Commission's discussion of the new basics focused on time rather than new forms of content. For example, their report recommended that high school graduates complete four years of English and three years of mathematics. The Commission also honored the tradition of separate curricular tracks for college- and non-college-bound students by arguing that the former should take two years of a foreign language on top of meeting the requirements for general-track students.

Following this lead, many states and school systems "strengthened" curricula by reducing or eliminating "superfluous" courses and graduate requirements, and by establishing minimum competency testing programs to gauge students' preparedness for employment and productive citizenship. The first phase of the school reform movement, then, concentrated on the identification of a core curriculum built around basic skills or minimum competencies. There is some evidence that these actions did serve to increase the percentage of students completing high school having acquired basic skills (e.g., Harmon, et al., 1992a; 1992b).

The reform movement entered its second phase during the latter half of the 1980s when the merits of transforming the way schools and school systems operate attracted increased attention. Research describing the characteristics of effective schools (Edmonds, 1979; 1986) offered persuasive evidence that schools could be improved by shifting decision-making responsibility into the hands of teachers and parents and away from state departments of education and district central offices. School-based management, parental involvement, and teacher empowerment became the guiding principles of school reform during this period. While the effective schools movement underscored the need to change both the goals of schooling and the processes used to obtain them, the movement has had little to say about the specific curricular ends school processes should serve. Instead, it offered two general axioms as beacons for curricular change: all students can learn, and teachers should have high expectations for all students.

By 1989 the curricular content issue returned to center stage, largely as a result of the economic and social impacts of the globalization of the U.S. economy. The disappearance of whole industries that relied on workers with basic skills, coupled with the requirements of work in emerging manufacturing, health, and service industries (see Commission on Skills of the American Work Force, 1990) fostered numerous conversations about schooling and curricula for the 21st century. Efforts to redefine the "basics" stressed the importance of oral (English and a foreign language) and written communication skills, reasoning and problem solving, teamwork, and the ability to acquire and use information (e.g., Resnick, 1987; SCANS, 1992; CCSSO, 1990). In addition to demanding higher levels of learning, curriculum reformers

argued that these new, higher standards be applied to the vast majority of American students. The latter recommendation represented a significant departure from the two-track system (college-bound and non-college-bound) that had dominated American education for the better part of this century.

Equity and Excellence

The nation entered the 1990s, then, with twin goals for school reform: (1) to restructure schools in ways that enhance their effectiveness, and (2) to create curricula and instructional approaches that help all students attain world-class levels of achievement. This agenda is echoed powerfully in the six National Education Goals referred to earlier. While these goals hold all students accountable for reaching higher performance standards, the school reform debate has not been very vocal or specific about equity—how we ensure that those who are now disadvantaged educationally, socially, or economically have a realistic chance to meet higher standards. In 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education (NCEE, 1983) cautioned us against disregarding equity concerns:

> The twin goals of equity and high-quality schooling have profound and practical meaning for our economy and society, and we cannot permit one to yield to the other either in principle or in practice. To do so would deny young people their chance to learn and live according to their aspirations and abilities. It also would lead to a generalized accommodation to mediocrity in our society on the one hand or the creation of an undemocratic elitism on the other. (p. 13)

Despite this admonition, the reform movement continues to be virtually silent about the often desperate educational circumstances of poor and minority children. For example, the six national goals chart a course for all students without saying much about how students traveling in vessels of different size, shape, and strength might reach the same destination by the year 2000. Kozol's (1991) bleak portrait of the schools attended by many poor and minority students offers clear evidence that high standards will be an unreachable goal for "all" students unless we pay attention to how we prepare students with different needs to meet the same learning goals (see American Council on Education, 1988). In essence, the national goals cannot be reached without raising the performance of minority students substantially. This long overlooked undertaking must begin with a sound understanding of the academic performance of poor and minority students and of the nature of the schools they attend.

Educational Status of White and Minority Students

NAEP Trends

As mentioned earlier, NAEP survey results during the last decade show that the average science, reading, writing, and math proficiency of white students has been stalled (Mullis, et al., 1990; National Center for Education Statistics, 1992; see Tables 1 and 2). While the performance gaps between blacks and Hispanics on one hand, and whites on the other, were reduced sharply during this same period, the average scores of blacks and Hispanics in each subject area remain 20 to 40 points below those obtained by white students at each age/grade [1] (see Applebee, et al., 1989).

Even more alarming than the persistent achievement gap between minority and white students is what the average scores of each group tell us about our students' capabilities. Unlike the results of norm-referenced standardized achievement tests, NAEP proficiency levels in reading, mathematics, and science allow one to tie numerical scores to a defined level of proficiency. Descriptions of NAEP proficiency levels in reading and mathematics are presented in Tables 3 and 4 to illustrate this point.

Table 1 Average Reading Proficiency by Age and Race/Ethnicity: 1971—1990

	Age 9			Age 13			Age 17		
Year	White	Black	Hispanics	White	Black	Hispanics	White	Black	Hispanics
1971	214	170		261	222		291	239	
1975	217	181	183	262	226	233	293	241	252
1980	221	189	190	264	233	237	293	243	261
1984	218	186	187	263	236	240	295	264	268
1988	218	189	194	261	243	240	295	274	271
1990	217	182	189	262	242	238	297	267	275

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 1992

Table 2 Average Mathematics Proficiency by Age and Race/Ethnicity: 1973—1990

	Age 9			Age 13			Age 17		
Year	White	Black	Hispanics	White	Black	Hispanics	White	Black	Hispanics
1973	225	190	202	274	228	239	310	270	277
1978	224	192	203	272	230	238	306	268	276
1982	224	195	204	274	240	252	304	272	277
1986	227	202	205	274	249	254	308	279	283
1990	235	208	214	276	249	255	310	289	284

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 1992

By transposing the average scale scores for race/ethnic groups shown in Tables 1 and 2 onto the proficiency level descriptions presented in Tables 3 and 4, one can capture the true meaning of what students on average are able to accomplish. The average score for black and Hispanic 17-year-olds on the NAEP reading and mathematics assessments rose considerably between 1971 and 1990, but remained below 300—the level at which students are able to use mathematics and literacy to engage in complex reasoning. Thus the gains made by African American and Hispanic students largely amount to improvements in their acquisition of basic skills. This basic-skills ceiling effect is reinforced in NAEP data on the percentage of students who score at or above a particular proficiency level. In 1984, for example, 45 percent of the 17-year-old white students tested obtained reading proficiency scores at or above the Adept Proficiency Level (300 and above). Students who score at or above this level are able to comprehend, analyze, and summarize complex written information on familiar and unfamiliar topics. While 45 percent of white 17-year-olds per-

Table 3 NAEP Reading Proficiency Levels, 1998

Level	Description
350	Can synthesize and learn from specialized reading materials
300	Can find, understand, summarize, and explain relatively complicated information
250	Can search for specific information, inter-relate ideas, and make generalizations
200	Can comprehend specific or sequentially related information
150	Can carry out simple, discrete reading tasks

Source: Applebee, et al., 1989

Table 4 NAEP Mathematics Proficiency Levels, 1986

Level	Description
350	Can solve multi-step problems and use basic algebra
300	Can compute with decimals, fractions, and percents; recognize geometric figures; solve simple equations; and use moderately complex reasoning
250	Can add, subtract, multiply, and divide using whole numbers, and solve one-step problems
200	Can add and subtract two-digit numbers and recognize relationships among coins
150	Knows some basic addition and subtraction facts

Source: Applebee, et al., 1989

formed at or above this level, fewer than 20 percent of the 17-year-old African Americans tested did so (Mullis, et al., 1990).

These results paint a distressing picture of American students. They reveal that our schoolchildren on average are failing to achieve the very skills required by the new jobs being created in our nation's economy (Marshall & Tucker, 1992). Though the gains made by blacks and Hispanics are encouraging, their performance continues to lie well below that of their white counterparts. The fact that the majority of blacks and Hispanics achieve scores indicating that they are ill prepared for high performance work and management (see Commission on the Skills of the American Work Force, 1990) bodes poorly for a society seeking solutions to the cause of the recent riots that gripped Los Angeles and cities across the country.

Scholastic Aptitude Test Trends

NAEP surveys are given to a sample of students who represent a cross-section of American schoolchildren. The results of the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), however, offer a view of those students who are headed

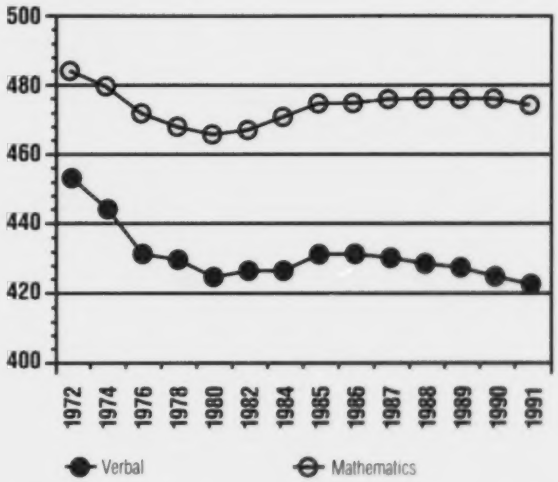
for college. From 1972 to 1991, the percentage of high school graduates who took the SAT increased from 34 percent to 41 percent. Figure 2 shows the average verbal and mathematics SAT scores for high school seniors from 1972 to 1991.

Figure 2 shows the sharp decline between 1972 and 1982 in average SAT scores that sounded the alarm for school reform in the 1980s. SAT scores on the verbal and mathematics portions of the test rose somewhat between 1982 and 1986, but have remained fairly stable since 1986. Despite signs of progress, mean SAT scores for verbal and mathematics ability in 1991 remain below averages obtained in 1972—an outcome due in part to the increased proportion of high school seniors taking the test in 1991 (41 percent of all high school seniors) as compared to 1972 (34 percent). Most of the reports produced by various commissions and forums over the past decade, however, lay the majority of the blame for the decline in SAT scores to curricular and instructional deficiencies in American schools (see Quality Education for Minorities Project, 1990).

Minority Student Performance on the SAT

Here too, the picture over the last decade has remained fairly stable and bleak. Table 5 shows the average verbal and mathematics SAT scores for different racial and ethnic groups in 1980 and 1991.

Figure 2 Average Verbal and Mathematics Scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test, 1972—1991



Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 1992

In 1980, the average score for all groups on the verbal and mathematics portions of the SAT stood at 424 and 466 points respectively. Eleven years later, the average score for all groups dropped two points on the verbal portion while rising eight points in math. Looking at the scores for specific groups, we find that the average scores of African Americans, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, and Puerto Ricans

Table 5 Mean Verbal and Mathematics SAT Scores for Various Racial and Ethnic Groups, 1980 and 1991

Verbal	All	White	Black	Mexican American	Puerto Rican	American Indian	Asian American
1980	424	442	330	372	350	390	396
1991	422	441	351	377	361	393	411
Math							
1980	466	482	360	413	394	426	509
1991	474	489	385	427	406	437	530

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, 1992

increased significantly on the verbal and mathematics portions of the SAT. Over this same period, the average verbal scores for American Indians increased slightly, while their average scores for mathematics increased by 11 points.

Generally speaking, while these gains helped narrow the disparity between the SAT scores of minorities and whites, with the exception of Asian Americans in the area of math, the average performance of minorities remains well below that of white students. A more complete picture of the dimensions of the minority achievement gap on the college entrance examination is captured in the following statistics reported by the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life (1988):

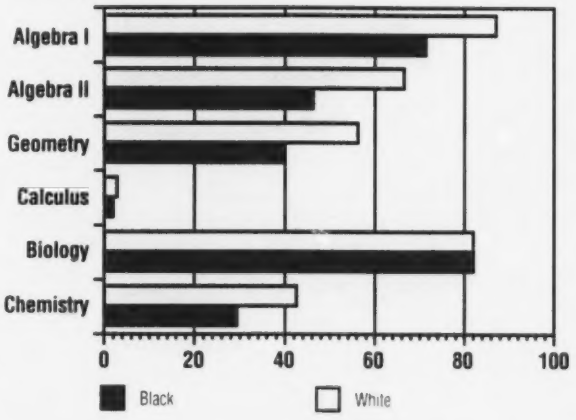
> Of the 1.05 million high school seniors who took the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) in 1985, just over 70,000 (9 percent) were black and a few more than 17,000 (3 percent) were Hispanic. Furthermore, of the black students, 73 percent scored below 400 on the verbal section and 64 percent scored below 400 on the math portion. Of the Hispanic students, 59 percent had verbal scores below 400 and 45 percent had math scores below that level. For whites, only 31 percent had verbal scores below 400 and only 22 percent had math scores that low. (pp. 5-6)

Differences in Grades and Course/Program Enrollment

Grades

The troubling minority student achievement gap visible in NAEP and SAT results is mirrored and perhaps rooted in the disparate school experiences of minorities and whites. Blacks and whites leave high school with grade point averages that differ considerably. In 1984, 35 percent of all black high school graduates obtained a grade point average (GPA) of C+ or better as compared to 60 percent of their white counterparts

Figure 3 Percentage of Black and White Students Enrolled in Specific High School Courses in 1989



Source: Policy Information Center, 1989

(Education Research Bulletin, 1989). It is somewhat surprising that African Americans receive lower grades in high school despite being exposed to a less challenging curriculum than their white counterparts. Figure 3 shows the percentage of black and white eleventh graders who report taking advanced mathematics and science courses (Policy Information Center, 1989).

Course Enrollment

According to these data, a smaller proportion of black as compared to white students take advanced mathematics and science courses in high school. The percentage of black students who report taking Algebra I and II is of particular concern, given the results of a recent study showing that success in college is highly correlated with completing algebra and geometry in secondary school (Pelavin & Kane, 1990). These findings prompted the College Board to sponsor the Equity Project, a program designed to increase the number of minorities who enroll in and successfully complete algebra and geometry. This initiative seeks to improve minority student participation and perfor-

mance by redesigning math curricula and providing special training for secondary school teachers and guidance counselors.

Tracking and Ability Grouping

Although the Pelavin and Kane study showed that success in algebra and geometry is associated with success in college, it would be premature to conclude that advanced mathematics skills alone are the sole factor driving this relationship. Students who complete advanced mathematics courses are also likely to be enrolled in higher level science and English courses (American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1989). To our nation's detriment, tracking remains a pervasive feature of secondary schools, despite abundant evidence of its harmful effects on those assigned to lower curricular groups (Goodlad, 1984; Oakes, 1985; Cole & Griffin, 1987; Slavin, 1988).

The minority education agenda for the nineties should begin with the elimination of tracking and proceed to identify instructional opportunities that give minority students a fair shot at meeting world-class standards.

Racial and ethnic variations in high school course participation can be traced to the long-term effects of ability grouping and tracking, which begin in elementary school and in some cases, as early as kindergarten (Rist, 1973). The disproportionately large number of African Americans and Hispanics enrolled in special education programs (particularly those for the learning disabled and the educable mentally retarded), programs for the educationally disadvantaged (e.g., Head Start and Chapter 1), and in lower level academic groups and tracks (see Simmons & Grady, 1989; Garibaldi et al., 1988) provide sad testimony of the failure of this practice to raise minority student achievement. In short, tracking and ability grouping increase the likelihood that minorities will spend 12 years of school in programs that are a path to basic skills rather than world-class skills. The minority education agenda for the nineties should begin with the elimination of tracking and proceed to identify instructional opportunities that give minority students a fair shot at meeting world-class standards.

National Standards and Examinations

The push for national standards and examinations has enormous potential to advance efforts to improve minority schooling if the attention paid to prerequisite instructional opportunities matches that already being devoted to standards and alternative assessment. Unfortunately, this does not appear to be the case. Up to now, the development of student content and performance standards and assessment systems has outpaced that of school delivery standards.

Numerous organizations such as the Council of Chief State School Officers, the New Standards Project, the National Assessment Governing Board, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, and the National Academy of Sciences have weighed in on the subject of content standards and assessment. The Labor Department's Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills (1992) has defined a set of foundation skills and competencies that are becoming **de facto** national standards for work readiness. Similarly, the mathematics curriculum and evaluation standards published by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics are being widely viewed as national standards for mathematics. Efforts to develop national curriculum or content standards in areas such as English language arts and history are being funded by

the Department of Education, while the National Academy of Sciences is supporting efforts to create national standards for science.

On the assessment front, the New Standards Project—a partnership of seventeen states and six school districts organized by the Learning Research and Development Center at the University of Pittsburgh and the National Center on Education and the Economy—is developing a performance-based examination system that would be shared by the states involved. The NSP examinations system would include student portfolios and matrix examinations given at three grade levels (4, 8, and 10) and in several subject areas. Another model for national examinations comes out of the work of the College Board. The College Board is supporting the Pacesetter Project, an initiative to specify content standards at the secondary level and develop a portfolio-based assessment system for high school students that could be used as part of the college admissions process.

The national standards and assessment movement is willing to hold students and perhaps teachers responsible, while being silent about school, district, and state accountability.

This brief and incomplete description of the national standards and assessment landscape is meant to demonstrate the pace and breadth of this endeavor. This movement has the potential to benefit minority education in a number of ways. First, by emphasizing a single standard for all students, the national standards movement would seriously undermine the conceptual rationale for tracking—the belief that holding separate standards and expectations for students based on their "ability" is appropriate and effective. Second, the replacement of multiple-choice tests with performance-based assessments in schools serving minority and educationally disadvantaged youngsters would heighten the attention paid to critical thinking, problem solving, and advanced knowledge in classrooms that all too often concentrate on the basic skills emphasized by traditional standardized tests.

School Delivery Standards

Thus far at least, the issue of instructional opportunities or school delivery standards has not found an institutional home, despite cogent analyses presented by Smith and O'Day (1992) and Porter (1992). Part of the caution given this subject is spurred by a desire to avoid describing inputs in ways that burden schools and programs without improving student success significantly. While this concern is warranted, as long as school delivery standards remain an institutional orphan, the equity advocacy community has good reason to believe, as many now do, that the national standards and assessment movement is willing to hold students and perhaps teachers responsible, while being silent about school, district, and state accountability.

If the national standards and assessment movement is to survive, school delivery standards must receive as much attention as is currently being given to student content and performance standards. Insights about the experiences and resources needed to improve education, particularly for disadvantaged students, abound in initiatives such as the Comer School Development Program, the Accelerated Schools Program, Harvard's Performance Assessment Collaborative for Education (PACE) and Project Zero, the Coalition of Essential Schools, the Carnegie Middle Grade School State Policy Initiative, and the College Board's Equity Project.

These efforts stress:

- active learning that takes children from the classroom into the community and workplace;
- extended learning activities, such as projects and exhibitions that take weeks to complete;
- flexible scheduling and heterogeneous grouping of students;
- interdisciplinary teams of teachers who engage students in mathematics, English language arts, science, art, and social studies activities focused on a common theme or issue;
- challenging subject matter that requires students to reason and solve problems utilizing primary materials rather than textbooks;
- collaborative learning, where students work alone and in small groups to complete extended learning activities;
- continuous assessment using performance-based measures that emphasize student progress toward meeting a set of clearly defined standards; and
- collaborative teams of educators (teachers, principals, specialists) and parents who have the power to plan and make decisions about allocating resources in ways that will enhance the school's ability to meet standards and goals established in concert with the district or state.

In addition, these programs often look beyond the child and attempt to foster a supportive learning environment in the home by using the school as a nexus for social and health services furnished by relevant public and private agencies (see Schorr, 1988). How can one use the evidence provided by these successful programs to define school delivery standards in a way that gives schools maximum flexibility and keeps institutions focused on meeting outcomes for students rather than regulations for programs? This is a central question that must be broached and ultimately answered to assuage concerns about the power of the standards and assessment movement to improve education for all children, especially those from poor and minority backgrounds.

The answer lies somewhere in the vinculum between content and performance standards, relevant curricula and assessments, appropriate and effective instruction, and highly skilled educators and well-equipped schools. Defining these variables in a way that guides without restricting, and is equitable without being monolithic, will require the combined efforts of researchers, policymakers, and practitioners working alongside business, community, and government representatives. We cannot afford to leave any group out of this process because the result must be owned by so many. Moreover, as in the case of content/performance standards and alternative assessment, the process of defining school delivery standards themselves will help forge the community of learners essential to the improvement of education in the United States.

Note

1. Early NAEP surveys used age groupings; later assessment groups were based on grade levels.

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While the average achievement data of Asian American students demonstrate a high level of competence when compared with other racial/ethnic groups in the United States, they also show that the achievement levels of the different ethnic subgroups differ greatly.

ASIAN AMERICAN EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL EDUCATION GOALS

Sau-Lim Tsang, ARC Associates

On September 22, 1992, the Council of the Great City Schools issued a report examining the performance of the nation's urban schools and the educational well-being of the students in those schools. The report concluded that urban schools are making slow progress, but noted that the graduation rates among blacks and Hispanics are still well behind the national average. The reason I am bringing up this news item is that the report failed to mention the large numbers of Asian American students enrolled in urban schools. The 1990 U.S. Census identified over 7.5 million Asian and Pacific Americans, or 3 percent of the total U.S. population. Of these, 94 percent live in metropolitan areas and 45 percent live inside the central cities of metropolitan areas (Bennett, 1992).

One of the reasons Asian American students are not mentioned in the report may have to do with the general conception that this population is doing exceptionally well educationally. In fact, success stories involving Asian American students seem to have been played up as recurring features in the news media in recent years.

If Asian American students are performing so well academically, how do they fare with respect to National Education Goal 3? The 1991 National Education Goals Report provides us with some achievement data for comparisons (Table 1).

The results show that only 29 percent to 39 percent of Asian American fourth, eighth, and twelfth graders are competent in mathematics. These percentages, although from 10 percent to 17 percent higher than those of white students, are not exciting by themselves and surely do not match the glowing academic success stories portrayed by the news media. For some unexplained reason, the English reading and writing proficiency results of Asian and Pacific Islander students were missing from the same report.

Table 1 Percentage of Asian/Pacific Islander and White Students Competent in Mathematics, 1990

	Grade 4	Grade 8	Grade 12
Asian/Pacific Islander	29%	39%	34%
White	19%	22%	19%

Source: National Education Goals Panel, 1991

My review of the literature (National Assessment of Educational Progress, High School and Beyond, National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, Scholastic Aptitude Tests) also indicates that on average Asian American students perform better than white students in mathematics and at about the same level in English. For example, baseline data of the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS:88) provide a summary of some of the achievement findings (Table 2). I will revisit these results in the latter part of this paper.

While the rosy generalizations purport to illustrate the educational experience of Asian American students as an overall success story, I would like to examine the phenomenon in greater detail, put forward some hypotheses, and ask some policy questions.

The first issue involved in examining achievement data of Asian American students is the definition of the term "Asian American." The U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census uses the term

Table 2 NELS: 88 Mathematics and Reading Scores of Eighth Graders

	Sample N	Reading Mean	Reading S.D.	Math Mean	Math S.D.
Asian/Pacific Islander	1,495	10.78	6.25	19.86	12.21
White, Non-Hispanic	15,753	11.36	5.89	17.99	11.05

Source: Rock, et al., 1990

"Asian and Pacific Islander" and defines the term as including Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Korean, Vietnamese, Japanese, Asian Indian, Samoan, Guamanian, and other APIs, which is further clarified as Thai, Laotian, Cambodian (Kampuchean), Pakistani, Indonesian, Hmong, Polynesian, other Micronesian, and Melanesian. This definition aggregates into one group those indigenous to the Pacific Islands and people whose ancestry originates from East and South Asian countries, in spite of the fact that Asians and Pacific Islanders share little in racial/ethnic, cultural, language, or social backgrounds. This practice of grouping Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders has been generally accepted by the Asian Pacific American community for reasons of solidarity. The definition also confirms the accepted connotation of "Asian American" to mean those with ancestry from East, Southeast, and South Asia, and not the whole Asian continent. (The definition has changed over the years; for example, Asian Indians were first counted as Asian Americans in the 1980 census.) In practice, researchers seldom provide a clear definition of their usage of the term Asian American and they often include Pacific Islanders in their term without specifying this.

For example, the National Center for Education Statistics (Bradby, 1992; see also Table 2) includes the following subgroups as Asian eighth graders: Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian/Kampuchean, Thai, etc.), Pacific Islander (Samoan, Guamanian, etc.), South Asian (Asian Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, etc.), West Asian (Iranian, Afghan, Turkish, etc.), Middle Eastern (Iraqi, Israeli, Lebanese, etc.), and Other Asian. This definition classifies all those from the Asian continent and the Pacific Islands as Asian Americans (including those with Jewish and Russian backgrounds).

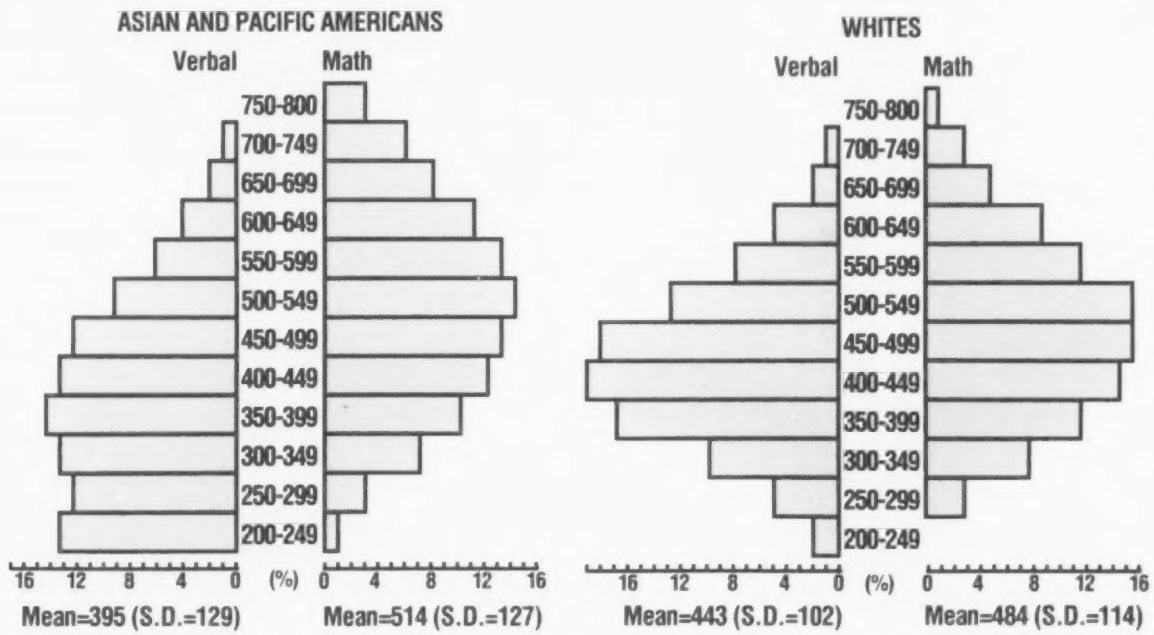
In addition to this confusing use of terms, researchers have also taken other problematic approaches in their treatment of the Asian American sample. For example, many studies (including NELS:88) exclude from their samples students who are deemed as lacking the English proficiency needed to perform the required tasks, even though this subgroup makes up a significant portion of the Asian American population. Studies that assign sampling weights often use weights that are calculated for the national sampling frame without adjustment to account for the larger proportion of Asian Americans living in urban areas. The College Entrance Examination Board, in its annual report of the SAT, even includes test takers in Asian countries in its Asian American subgroup.

Because of the general lack of rigor in the treatment of the Asian American subgroups, it becomes very difficult to accept with confidence the findings from many of the national data sets, longitudinal studies, and large-scale studies. For the purpose of this paper, the term Asian American does not include Pacific Islanders unless specified.

As we can see from the above discussion, Asian Americans make up an extremely diverse group. This fact is further illustrated by their achievement data distributions, which usually have larger standard deviations than other ethnic/racial groups (see Table 2). Their distribution curves show a flatter shape than normal, which indicates that Asian Americans usually have a larger proportion of both low and high achievers than the other groups. Figure 1, taken from the College Board report of the 1982-83 SAT results (Ramist & Arbeiter, 1984), exemplifies the spreading out of the distribution curves. The spread is especially prominent for the English achievement of Asian and Pacific American students.

Let us examine in more detail the distributions of the Asian and Pacific American achievement data. Table 3 shows the reading and math scores of Asian and Pacific Islander (API) subgroups from the NELS:88 baseline data. The data show that, except for Filipinos and Pacific Islanders, all API subgroups are performing at or above the white students in mathematics. All subgroups except for Koreans and Pacific Islanders also have larger standard deviations. On the other hand, the reading scores are more divergent, with five subgroups scoring above the white students and six below. However, we must be reminded that an unknown number of students who are deemed as lacking the English proficiency needed to perform the required tasks have been excluded from the baseline sample.

Figure 1 Distributions of 1982-83 Verbal and Mathematics SAT Scores for APAs and Whites



Source: Ramist & Arbeiter, 1984

Table 3 NELS: 88 Mathematics and Reading Scores of Eighth Graders

	Sample* N	Reading Mean	Reading S.D.	Math Mean	Math S.D.
API	1495	10.78	6.25	19.86	12.21
Chinese	302	11.48	6.40	23.64	11.84
Filipino	283	10.90	5.88	17.74	11.74
Japanese	86	11.71	6.05	23.34	11.23
Korean	185	13.14	5.79	25.55	10.27
Southeast Asian	235	9.73	5.89	19.08	11.27
Pacific Islander	101	5.69	4.95	10.19	9.74
South Asian	123	13.52	5.77	23.54	12.24
West Asian	31	12.35	5.03	23.46	11.74
Middle Eastern	42	11.18	6.23	20.06	11.87
Other Asian	84	10.26	6.04	17.40	11.23
White, Non-Hispanic	15,753	11.36	5.89	17.99	11.05

* Low English proficient students were excluded from sample, percentage unknown.

Source: Rock, et al., 1990

Table 4 1988 CAP Reading and Written Expression Scale Scores of APA Eighth Graders in Six California School Districts

Ethnicity	N	Percent	Reading	Written Exp.
Chinese	1843	32	239	272
Japanese	229	4	294	330
Korean	449	8	292	307
Vietnamese	600	10	234	261
Hmong	231	4	208	225
Laotian	178	3	165	205
Cambodian	113	2	183	204
Asian Indian	81	1	291	300
Pacific Islander	357	6	196	224
Filipino	1740	30	246	279
Total	7475	100	244	272
Norm			250	250

Source: Lai, et al., 1989

72

Table 5 1988 CAP Reading and Written Expression Scale Scores of APA Eighth Graders by Generations

Generation	N	Reading	Written Exp.
First	3569	223	250
Second	1399	291	320
Third	153	272	303
Fourth	67	334	346
Fifth	43	251	268
Norm		250	250

Source: Lai, et al., 1989

Lai, et al. (1989) examined the reading and writing performance from the California Assessment Program (CAP) for Asian and Pacific American (APA) students from six large school districts in California (Fresno, Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Diego, San Francisco, and San Jose). Table 4 is a summary of the results. The data show that within the Asian Pacific American group, the different ethnic subgroups vary drastically in their performance. Average scale scores range from a low of 165 (for the Laotian) to a high of 294 (Japanese) in reading, and from a low of 204 (Cambodian) to a high of 330 (Japanese)—a range of almost 130 points—in written expression.

Table 6 1988 CAP Reading and Written Expression Scale Scores of First Generation APA Eighth Graders

Ethnicity	N	Percent of Subgroup	Reading	Written Expression
Chinese	1306	71	217	247
Japanese	48	21	205	259
Korean	327	73	279	293
Vietnamese	538	90	236	262
Hmong	194	84	201	222
Laotian	164	92	161	204
Cambodian	105	93	180	199
Asian Indian	39	48	245	241
Pacific Islander	53	15	166	189
Filipino	644	37	229	268
Norm			250	250

Source: Lai, et al., 1989

When the same data set is grouped by the students' generations in the United States (Table 5), a similar picture of diversity appears.

The distribution of the average scores ranges from a low of 223 to a high of 334 for reading, and from 250 to 346 for written expression, a difference of 111 points for reading and 96 points for written expression. The scores for first generation APA students (Table 6) are especially alarming. All except the Koreans scored below the 250 norm in reading, with the Laotian and Pacific Islander students scoring the lowest, at 161 and 166 respectively.

In summary, while the average achievement data of Asian American students demonstrate a high level of competence when compared with other racial/ethnic groups in the United States, they also show that the achievement levels of the different ethnic subgroups differ greatly. The data further show that within certain ethnic subgroups, the achievement levels also differ according to their generations in the United States.

For the next section, I am providing a general discussion of some of the factors which relate to the educational achievement of Asian American students. I do not include Pacific Americans in this discussion because of my limited knowledge of this diverse group.

Factors Related to Educational Achievement of Asian Americans

Immigration and Refugee Policy

The present immigration policy of the United States was passed into law in 1965, when Congress enacted a bill which admitted 20,000 immigrants per country per year. The law, which took effect in 1968, reversed nearly 80 years of exclusion of Asian immigrants. Not only did the new policy have a major impact on the size and ethnic diversity of the Asian American population, it also influenced the educational characteristics of those admitted. Since immigrants represent a majority among Asian Americans, the educational characteristics of the overall population are similarly a function of the country's immigration policy.

Asians first began to come to the United States in large numbers in the late 1840s, when Chinese came to California during the Gold Rush. In later years, other Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and a small number of Koreans also immigrated to the United States, mainly to the West Coast and Hawaii. They provided the manual labor that made possible the phenomenal economic growth of the American West. However, these early immigrants were also the targets of pervasive and often violent anti-Asian sentiment. Institutionalized discrimination included a series of national policies which at first restricted and then completely curtailed Asian immigration.

In 1882, Congress forbade immigration of Chinese laborers when it enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act. In 1907, the Gentlemen's Agreement curtailed the immigration of Japanese laborers. Then, in 1924, the National Origins Act excluded immigrants who were "aliens ineligible for citizenship." Since the right to apply for American citizenship had previously been denied to Asian immigrants, this act in effect brought to an end the immigration of all Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese. The National Origins Act did not pertain to Filipinos, because of their country's status as an American colony. In 1934, however, the Tydings-McDuffie Act limited Filipino immigration to 50 per year. These measures, when combined with other discriminatory laws (including anti-miscegenation laws and the fact that most Chinese and Filipinos had come to the United States as single males) had the effect of limiting the Asian population in the United States in size, social interaction, and political and economic opportunity.

During the World War II years, Congress began to remove restrictions on Asian immigration and naturalization. In 1943, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed, possibly as a gesture of friendship towards China, an American ally during World War II. While the repeal finally made Chinese immigrants eligible for American citizenship, it also contained a provision which limited Chinese immigration to 105 persons per year. In 1952, Congress enacted the Walter-McCarran Act which allowed Japanese to immigrate and apply for citizenship, but restricted Japanese immigration to 185 persons per year. The United States also began to admit Chinese refugees during this period. For example, when the People's Republic of China (PRC) was formed in 1949, a number of Chinese refugees who had supported the Nationalist Chinese government were permitted to come to the United States; in 1962, 15,111 Chinese who had been allowed to leave the PRC gained entrance to this country as refugees. However, effective exclusion of Asian immigrants did not end until the present immigration policy was enacted in 1965.

Immigration policy has the dual objectives of reunifying families and increasing the supply of needed labor. Based on these objectives, wives and minor children of U.S. citizens are admitted on a non-quota basis; and the 20,000 slots allotted to each country are rationed between two groups: (1) other relatives of U.S. citizens and lawful resident aliens; and (2) professional and other workers needed by American employers. Thus, the first cohorts of Asian immigrants admitted under this system consisted of relatives of Asians who had come here much earlier, and of skilled, highly educated workers for whom there were employment opportunities in this country. The first group, whose admission was based on their relationship to relatives who came to this country primarily as unskilled, uneducated laborers from rural regions, probably came from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. The second group, by occupational definition, came from higher socioeconomic backgrounds. Over time, this dichotomy has become less well defined as the relatives of the professionals and other skilled workers began immigrating under the family reunification categories. In short, the socioeconomic background of present day Asian immigrants is extremely diverse.

Contributing to this phenomenon are the Asian foreign students and Southeast Asian refugees. A large number of Asians come to the United States for higher education and do not return to their homelands. Foreign students are typically subject to much higher tuition and fees than American residents, and they must be able to afford expensive transportation costs to and from their home countries and American universities. Furthermore, their opportunity to earn income while enrolled in American schools is severely limited by the federal government. Thus, it is likely that most of these students come from relatively high socioeconomic backgrounds.

A substantial proportion of recent Southeast Asian refugees might also be categorized as middle class. Many of the first wave Southeast Asian refugees, those who were admitted to the United States between 1975 and 1979, belonged to economically well-off and well-educated families. Among them were former government officials and scholars trained at prestigious universities in France.

The first wave refugees, foreign student immigrants, professional and other skilled workers and their relatives undoubtedly contribute to the high proportion of the Asian American population with four or more years of college. They come to the United States having already obtained postsecondary educations in their home countries. For many, it is precisely because of their high level of training that the United States accepts them as immigrants. In other words, recent immigration and refugee policy—as opposed to any

high innate ability among Asian Americans—has had the effect of inflating the college attainment of this population.

Recent immigration and refugee policy—as opposed to any high innate ability among Asian Americans—has had the effect of inflating the college attainment of this population.

The high level of education and socioeconomic status of the first wave of refugees, foreign student immigrants, professional and other skilled workers and their relatives was likely to influence their children's education in two ways. First, because of family socioeconomic status, the academic achievement of the children is likely to be relatively high. Second, because of the occupational status of their parents, the career preparation of the children is likely to be oriented towards professional occupations. Thus, current immigration and refugee policy probably has a positive, intergenerational impact on Asian Americans' preparation for college while in high school, on their college attendance, and on their choice of field of study.

In addition, immigration and refugee policy may be linked to the large standard deviations for the test scores described earlier. That is, while there is a greater proportion of high scores among Asian Americans compared to whites, there is also a comparatively greater proportion of low scores among Asian Americans. These low scores may be those of immigrant students from families with relatively low socioeconomic backgrounds. According to the 1990 census, 12.2 percent of Asian Americans were living in poverty, compared to 10.7 percent of the white population. Many second wave Southeast Asian refugees, those admitted since 1979, come from rural, preliterate societies. It is also likely that the influx of immigrants who are related to early Asian immigrants, who also come from rural areas, has not yet come to an end.

Finally, the high proportion of immigrants among the Asian American population means that most of them acquire English as a second language. This is undoubtedly a major factor contributing to the relatively low verbal test scores among members of this population. Moreover, if mathematics is considered to be a universal language, and since English is likely to be an obstacle to more language-based disciplines, then the non-English language background of immigrants is reflected in the tendency of Asian American students to concentrate on mathematics, resulting in high scores on mathematics tests.

Time Spent on Learning

Asian Americans appear to spend more time on learning than other high school students. Data from the High School and Beyond study show that, compared to white seniors, Asian American seniors took one-and-a-half more years of the "new basics"—that is, academic subjects; and a higher percentage of the Asian American sophomores spent five or more hours per week on homework (Tsang & Wing, 1985). Asian Americans were also less likely than other students to be absent from school (Peng et al., 1984). While 26 percent of white sophomores had perfect attendance, 45 percent of Asian American sophomores did so. As the SAT data indicate, even among high school students who were college bound, Asian Americans reported they had 16.80 years of academic study, compared to 16.32 for all students (Ramist & Arbeiter, 1984).

The extra time Asian American high school students appear to devote to learning is probably related to their academic achievement and educational attainment. For example, Peng et al. (1984) found that the

number of credits earned in high-level mathematics courses is the second best predictor for mathematics achievement (after previous mathematics achievement scores). Furthermore, many of the reports on educational reform argue that academic learning time is an important factor in student achievement.

As to why Asian American students spend more time on learning than other students, a study by Stevenson (1983) suggests one possibility. In his longitudinal comparative study of students in Taiwan, Japan, and the United States, Stevenson asked the mothers if luck, ability, or effort were the critical factor underlying their children's academic performance. Most Asian mothers chose effort, while most American mothers selected ability. The belief that achievement depends more on effort than ability may be similarly prevalent among Asian American parents and transmitted to their children. If so, the greater amount of time Asian American students spend on learning may represent extra effort expressly for the purpose of doing well. However, emphasizing the importance of effort is not particular to Asian culture. One of the reputed virtues of American culture is the belief that hard work leads to success. Stevenson's finding about American mothers' perceptions of the role of innate ability warrants further investigation.

The cost, if any, of the extra time spent on learning and emphasis on academic achievement among Asian Americans is unknown. That is, one might hypothesize that there is a trade-off between time spent on academic learning and time spent on student and community activities. Participation in extracurricular activities might be necessary to one's social and personal development in some way. The High School and Beyond study indicates that the percentages of Asian Americans who participated in sports, artistic activities, and community activities were lower than the figures for whites. In fact, the Asian American figures were lower than those for every racial/ethnic group in nearly every one of these three types of activities (Peng et al., 1984).

At the same time, Asian American high school students generally participated in "intellectual activities" at higher rates than other students. Twenty-one percent of Asian Americans were involved in student council and government, compared to 16 percent of whites. There was only a one percent difference between the percentages of Asians and whites who reported participation in school newspaper and yearbook activities. Since participation in student council, government, newspaper, and yearbook activities may be more closely associated with leadership, social interaction, and communication skills than with so-called academic skills, these figures suggest that Asian American students do not spend time on learning at the expense of pursuing other areas of personal development and accomplishment. Moreover, Asian Americans who took the SAT in 1982-1983 were more likely to have participated in social, ethnic, or community organizations than other SAT candidates (Ramist & Arbeiter, 1984). It does not appear, therefore, that the time Asian Americans spent on learning entails the sacrifice of involvement in other student activities. However, no assessment of the cost in terms of stress, anxiety, and similar factors has been studied.

Historical Labor Market Discrimination and Asian American Sensitivity to Job Openings Under Conditions of Equal Employment Opportunity

Early Asian immigrants in the United States worked primarily in low-level manual labor jobs in agriculture and in the incipient urban-based industries of the west. These could be called "immigrant jobs"—low-paying and low-status jobs that domestic workers shunned. Upward occupational mobility was difficult. Unions, which act as gatekeepers for many types of jobs for skilled workers, have historically been unre-

ceptive to immigrant workers. For example, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), organized in 1881 as a confederation of crafts unions, actively campaigned in favor of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and the 1924 National Origins Act. Not surprisingly, the AFL also rejected Asian immigrants as union members. In 1903, for example, when Japanese immigrant sugar beet workers in California organized a union with their fellow Mexican workers, they applied to join the AFL. The AFL advised the Mexican workers that the sugar beet union would be admitted provided that it excluded Japanese and Chinese members. The sugar beet union declined to join the AFL under this condition.

Asian Americans seem to have developed a particular strategy to deal with employment discrimination and to secure upward mobility.

Among employers, early Asian immigrants were welcomed as workers when there were labor shortages. However, when the shortages disappeared, or if an economic recession appeared imminent, the immigrants were the first to suffer layoffs and other negative consequences. Thus, the jobs immigrants did secure tended to be of short-term duration and were dead ends in terms of upward mobility. Over time, Asian Americans seem to have developed a particular strategy to deal with employment discrimination and to secure upward mobility. This strategy has had an impact on their educational profile.

Beginning with World War II, war-related industries enjoyed an economic boom, and when the first federal equal employment opportunity policies were adopted, second generation Asian Americans found new occupations open to them just as other minorities and women did. But because skilled, industrial, union jobs had long been closed to Asian Americans, Asian American youth sought employment in other sectors of the economy. There was a new and growing need for science- and engineering-trained workers, which was not being met by the majority population, and—perhaps because hiring appeared to be based on merit—Asian Americans began to enter these professional and technical occupations. In order to qualify for these types of jobs, they invested in college. They faced few financial barriers in doing so; most Asian Americans lived on the West Coast (as they do now), where an excellent postsecondary educational system is publicly financed.

Between 1940 and 1950, there was a threefold increase in the number of Chinese American males employed as professional, technical, and kindred workers (Lee, 1960). Although 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry were imprisoned during World War II, early releases were permitted for college attendance in the Midwest and East; and according to Kitano (1969), Japanese Americans were able to capitalize on professional job opportunities in the postinternment years.

These first entrants into professional and technical fields became role models for subsequent cohorts of Asian Americans, who exhibited the same sensitivity to opportunities in professional fields during the Sputnik era and the present period of growth in high technology industries. Furthermore, once the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed, the more blatant forms of employment discrimination became illegal. Altogether, historical job discrimination, job market sensitivity, and equal employment opportunity policies appear to have encouraged Asian Americans to do well in school in preparation for college and subsequent careers in professional occupations.

Conclusion

This paper has summarized the general educational achievement of Asian American students and pointed out the diversity of the group, stressing that simple generalizations do not provide information on the large number of low achievers and their needs for better and more appropriate instructional programs. Data from the High School and Beyond study show that recent immigrant students in the nation's secondary schools are making slower progress in English than other groups (Tsang & Wing, 1985). The data presented in this paper also reveal the low English achievement of many first generation Asian subgroups. This low performance is in spite of their comparatively high achievement in mathematics. More research is necessary to investigate the discrepancy in these achievement levels and to guide the improvement of English language programs for Asian newcomers.

Three factors affecting Asian American students' academic achievement were also discussed. All three are extrinsic factors resulting from the historical background of the Asian American population in the United States. These factors together have influenced the Asian Americans to adopt education as the path to upward mobility.

Again, one must be cautious about invoking these factors as explanations for a particular Asian American group's academic achievement profile. For example, current immigration policy does not have a large impact on the Japanese American educational profile; and the influence of past job discrimination on ethnic groups such as the Vietnamese, who have a comparatively short history in the United States, is uncertain.

To close this discussion, I would like to raise some questions:

1. The National Education Goals Report of 1991 shows that many Asian American students are meeting the mathematics competence. Who are these students? Who are the Asian American students who are not meeting the competence level? Why are they achieving differently?

2. If many Asian Americans are not doing well in our schools, is there anything wrong with our schools?

3. What happens to the large number of Asian American students who are in higher education? Again, we have plenty of anecdotal evidence of success stories of Asian American students entering our best universities. But are they achieving at these top universities? How do the others fare, especially those in our two-year college system? For example, Asian and Pacific Americans make up 18 percent of the California State University system and 11 percent of the California Community College District in 1989 (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1990), but there is no research on their performance. Are they receiving an education that is meeting the National Education Goals?

4. How do Asian Americans perform when compared to students in other countries? Many Asian Americans immigrate to the United States because of the oppressive and competitive education systems of their home countries and the availability of opportunities in this country. In light of this fact, do we want to compete with those countries in educational achievement?

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80

CURRENT RESEARCH ISSUES IN MINORITY STUDENT EDUCATION

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[*Editor's Note:* The sessions of the symposium served to raise important issues of language and culture which must be faced in the process of implementing Goal 3. One of the prerequisites for dealing effectively with these issues is an adequate foundation of research. While there was not sufficient time during the symposium to consider needed research, we have included a short list of research issues here in order to round out the picture.]

There are many initiatives underway for restructuring and reforming U.S. education. The National Education Goals set the stage for dramatic changes to improve education for all students. These changes will affect racial and ethnic minority students in many ways. All those who have a stake in the education of minority students must be alert and engaged in the process of education reform. And for those who are involved in education reform, it is critical that the minority-group perspective be reflected in all the deliberations that will be taking place.

The Need for Accurate Information

More and better information about minority students is needed in order to substantiate the nature and level of services required. Data from all possible sources need to be compiled and analyzed to give us an accurate and comprehensive representation of the characteristics of our student population.

- Results of the 1990 Census are beginning to be analyzed and are providing an overall picture of the U.S. population and its subgroups (Waggoner, 1991; Vobejda, 1991).

- More data will be available in the near future from a variety of initiatives from the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), specifically focused on language minority students.

- In one such initiative, an augmentation of the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS:88) study will follow Hispanic, Asian/Pacific American, and Native American students from eighth through tenth and twelfth grades to examine how school policies, teacher practices, and family involvement affect education outcomes such as academic achievement, continued enrollment in school, and participation in postsecondary education. (Results for the eighth graders are reported by the National Center for Education Statistics, 1992b.)

Also needed is an examination of services currently provided and services lacking. This is, of course, closely intertwined with efforts to document the numbers of students.

- The last few surveys conducted through the National Assessment of Educational Progress show that the school population as a whole is not being adequately prepared for the job market of the 21st century (Commission on the Skills of the American Work Force, 1990; Marshall & Tucker, 1992), and that, on average, minority students lag as much as 40 points behind their white classmates in reading and math proficiency (Applebee, et al., 1989; Mullis, et al., 1990; NCES, 1992a).

- A recently completed study at the national level found that students with limited English proficiency tended to be more economically disadvantaged than other students. The study also documented differences in the amount and type of instruction

received by students from different language backgrounds, as well as difficulties in entry/exit procedures for programs (Development Associates, 1986; Burkheimer, et al., 1989).

- A report from the Office of Technology Assessment (U.S. Congress, 1988) documented the state of technology use in the schools and found that minority students had less access to computers and other forms of technology than other students. Gifford (1992) noted the relative lack of software or courseware intended for second language learners.

- An extensive study of programs for limited English proficient students in California (Berman, et al., 1992) found that most secondary schools do not offer these students access to the full content curriculum that they need in order to graduate. This problem is compounded by the shortage of teachers willing and trained to teach such students. The findings of Minicucci and Olsen (1992) concerning the lack of appropriate services for secondary school students are also especially noteworthy. Reports such as these should be carefully examined for their implications at both state and national levels.

Program and Instructional Models

Another major issue is "what works" for educating minority students. Three essential areas need to be addressed: access to appropriate instructional programs, access to the core curriculum, and access to appropriate pedagogical strategies.

- One aspect of the debate has focused on the role of first-language support in instruction of students with limited English proficiency, questioning how much first-language use, if any, is appropriate and for how long (Ramirez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991; Cazden, 1992; Collier, 1992). While many sources affirm the importance of first-language support (Krashen, 1991), the debate on program models continues.

- A model that is attracting greater attention is developmental bilingual education, in which two languages (English and another) are systematically used as mediums of instruction (Christian & Mahrer, 1992). This model not only helps to meet the needs of language minority students who are learning English, but it also provides a vehicle for English-speaking students to learn another language.

- Studies of instructional strategies used in a variety of program models have noted that students are forced into a predominantly passive role (Goodlad, 1984; Ramirez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991). In contrast, a key component of exemplary programs was found to be interactive learning (Cummins, 1989; Garcia, 1991; Tikunoff, et al., 1991).

- In contrast to the teacher-controlled transmission model of instruction common to most classrooms, instructional conversations model classroom discourse on the natural, interactive teaching found in homes and communities and foster the development of critical thinking skills for both minority and majority students (Tharp & Gallimore, 1991; Adger, et al., 1992).

- Another characteristic found in exemplary programs is the integration of English language development with content area instruction (Tikunoff, et al., 1991). This approach is becoming widely regarded as effective, and a new study is underway, with funding from OBEMLA, to document these "content ESL" practices.

The Needs of Special Populations

A derivative of the overall "what works" issue is the concern with meeting the needs of special subgroups of the minority student population. Minority students who also have a handicapping condition or disability, who are gifted and talented, who are migrants,

or who have other sorts of special needs, should have access to the appropriate support services when they need them.

- Many educators are concerned about the process by which minority students are referred to special education classes, fearing both over- and under-identification.

- African Americans are significantly over-represented in special education classes. For example, in the educable mentally retarded category, 41.6 percent of students are African American, although only 21.4 percent of the total school population is African American (Office of Civil Rights, 1989).

- As part of the effort to meet National Education Goal 2 (increasing high school completion rates) newcomers to our schools deserve more attention, especially at the secondary level, as the numbers of older students with limited prior education increase. Special programs and strategies are being developed to meet this need (Friedlander, 1991).

- To address National Education Goal 1 (readiness for school), we need to focus on preschool programs. A recently completed study of preschool programs funded through the Title VII Special Populations Program will help guide the discussion. Early childhood educators are also looking more specifically at the needs of children from non-English speaking backgrounds (Nissani, 1990).

Processes of Second Language Learning

Our understanding of the second-language acquisition process has expanded, but this complex issue is far from well understood. Better understanding of the process has significant practical implications. For example, insights into the relationship between first- and second-language acquisition can help us determine which aspects of learning are language dependent and which are not.

- Recent research suggests that the rate of acquisition of a second language is closely linked with proficiency in the first language. This may indicate that once certain language skills are developed in the first language, they may be built upon in the second (Hakuta & Garcia, 1989). Such findings argue for the need to provide first-language support for students who are in the process of acquiring proficiency in English.

- Language proficiency has also been shown to be multidimensional. For example, academic situations are likely to require proficiency in language that is more cognitively complex and less dependent on the immediate context than language used for social situations (Cummins, 1981; McLaughlin, 1987). Such differences in language proficiency have clear implications for second language learning in a school context.

- Becoming proficient in academic language is an experience which all schoolchildren must undergo, not just those who have a limited proficiency in English. Studies have shown that academic language proficiency is more likely to develop in classrooms where there is an interactive approach to instruction and where there is frequent extended discourse from every student on academic topics (Cummins, 1989; Wells, 1989; Adger, et al., 1992).

- These results are related to work on academic achievement in a second language (Collier, 1989). We need to develop a much better understanding of the attributes of academic language proficiency—what it is, how it is acquired, how it can be assessed—particularly in a second language.

Acquisition of Literacy

Related to second language learning is the question of development of literacy, another issue critical to the achievement of the National Education Goal that every adult American will be literate. For those learning English as a second language, we must consider the factor of first language literacy as well as instructional strategies for assisting learners of various age levels.

- There has been considerable discussion of the role played by native language literacy in the acquisition of literacy in a second language by both children and adults. It has been suggested that certain literacy skills will transfer to a second language if they are already present in the first language (Hakuta, 1990). There are many unresolved questions, however, particularly about the process of transfer for those who are literate in a language whose writing system is fundamentally different from that of English (non-Roman alphabet, for example).

- If native language literacy facilitates second language literacy, literacy instruction is then particularly critical for youngsters who come from a non-literate background (many Haitian Creole and Hmong speakers, for example).

- Regarding instructional strategies, there is evidence that whole-language approaches benefit second language learners. According to whole-language philosophy, language is easiest to learn when whole texts (rather than isolated letters, or words, or sentences) are dealt with in real, natural, meaningful contexts. Development of literacy is linked to development of language (as opposed to the arbitrary separation of language into listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills). Work on process writing (Samway, 1992), journal writing (Peyton, 1990), and other manifestations of the whole-language philosophy is beginning to focus on language learners and will continue to help us understand this critical process.

Influence of Home and Community

Minority students come to schools from greatly diverse cultural and experiential backgrounds. Even students from the same native language group vary widely in the experiences and beliefs they bring to school with them.

- There is a growing body of work on the degree of match (or mismatch) between the home communities of groups of students and the schools they attend, and the effect of this mismatch on academic achievement (Mehan, 1991). In both special education and general education classrooms, African American students may feel the effects of the mismatch between their culture and that of the teacher. For example, in reading groups teachers may respond to the oral reading problems of some African American students by correcting their pronunciation and grammar while ignoring content. At the same time, they respond to problems of speakers of standard English in terms of the meaning of the text (Collins, 1988).

- We are seeing a greater emphasis on bringing community processes into the school environment in order narrow the gap between the two (Moll, 1992), and a much stronger concern for parent involvement in the education of minority students.

Assessment Issues

Accountability is an important concern within the reform movement. As a result, many reform initiatives incorporate assessment components. Fitting linguistically and culturally diverse students into this picture is problematic and represents a major challenge for minority student education. It is critical

that minority students be adequately represented as discussions of student assessment, program evaluation, and teacher evaluation go forward.

In order to serve these students well, we must learn how to identify their needs and monitor their progress. Further, we must devise ways of including them when we undertake large-scale measurements, as the National Education Goals Panel will do in order to measure the nation's progress toward achieving the Goals. On the one hand, measures that may be appropriate for the majority of students may not be appropriate for students who do not share the language and culture of the mainstream. On the other hand, exempting minority students from the assessment process puts them outside the system of accountability and frees institutions from taking responsibility for them.

- Central to the assessment debate is the question of individual student assessment and aggregation of such student data as outcomes for program evaluation purposes. There is serious concern about the appropriateness of most standardized testing instruments for linguistically and culturally diverse students. For second language learners and for those who do not natively speak a standard variety of English, it is difficult to factor out the contribution of language proficiency to the outcome. Many specialists are now recommending performance-based assessments for all students, but especially for language minorities (Palmer Wolf, LeMahieu, & Eresh, 1992; Pierce & O'Malley, 1992).

- Those who are responsible for administering standardized tests must become more knowledgeable about the effects of language in the testing situation. For example, despite the fact that some standardized testing instruments (e.g., CELF-R, 1987) now include descriptive overviews of features of African American vernacular English, there are still documentable instances in which dialect differences are identified as language disorders or speech deficits (Adger, et al., 1992).

Teacher Education

The need for more bilingual and ESL specialists is widely recognized, and responses are being formed at both pre-service and in-service levels. There is also a need, just beginning to be recognized, for additional training for all teachers who work with linguistically and culturally diverse students. The challenge to meet these needs is great.

- The state of California reports that it needs 14,000 more bilingual teachers (Schmidt, 1991). Other states find themselves in less extreme, but similar positions.

- In the District of Columbia, a program is underway to "retool" teachers from a variety of subject area backgrounds into ESL teachers.

- In Florida, a consent decree requires that all teachers of second language learners receive specialized training, not just bilingual or ESL teachers, an acknowledgement that these students are found in, and need special attention in, many classrooms (NCBE, 1990).

In addition to efforts to remedy the shortage of qualified teachers, there is considerable attention being given to improving the process of teacher education and credentialling/certification.

- Two themes are emerging in the development of teachers: reflective teaching and classroom-based research. These themes emphasize the desirability of teachers' development extending throughout their careers, rather than ending with particular training activities.

- Guidelines for teacher certification are also being re-examined in the effort to improve the quality of the teaching force. The initiatives of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, for example, are aimed at setting core and specialization standards for teachers to meet.

Once again, an important issue for minority student education is the need for the stakeholders to be part of the process, to incorporate improvements as appropriate, and to inject the consideration of these students into the setting of standards for teachers.

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POLICY AND STRATEGY RECOMMENDATIONS

In the afternoon session of the symposium, participants met in several smaller focus groups to discuss in greater detail the language and culture issues surrounding Goal 3, strategies for helping minority students to achieve the goal, and appropriate means of measuring progress made by minority students toward meeting national standards. The discussions were characterized by a high degree of consensus within and among the groups, as well as with the speakers' presentations in the morning session. In this section, the outcome of the discussions is distilled into a set of policy and strategy recommendations for three interrelated facets of education reform: Instructional Programs, Methods, and Materials; Teacher Training and Certification; and Assessment Policies and Strategies. At the end of the section is a listing of resources.

Instructional Programs, Methods, and Materials

Symposium participants agreed that the design and implementation of programs to help students achieve Goal 3 should take certain general principles into account. Students with limited English proficiency need methods and materials of instruction which allow them to advance their knowledge of content while they are developing their proficiency in English. Instructional programs should utilize the native languages of students to ensure access to subject area content until their knowledge of English is sufficiently developed. Students who speak nonstandard dialects of English need extra support in the learning of the forms and uses of language which are necessary for success at school, since their language experiences outside of school often do not provide an adequate foundation for acquiring this academic language.

Specific recommendations for policies and strategies for program design and implementation are the following:

1. Standards for minority students should be set as high as the standards for the district. Grade-level benchmarks may not be appropriate for minority students, because their educational and language backgrounds vary greatly. However, they should be held to the same ultimate standards as other students.

2. School districts and schools must be held accountable for providing instructional programs that help minority students meet the standards. Setting high standards without providing the resources and programs to enable students to meet the standards will deny them equal educational opportunity.

3. All students, including those with limited proficiency in English, need instructional programs designed to develop higher order thinking skills, thus promoting the Goal 3 objective of improving students' ability to reason, solve problems, and apply knowledge.

4. Authentic materials may be adapted to reduce the language difficulty for limited English proficient students, but it is important that adapted materials provide challenging content. Adaptation should not mean "watering down" of content.

5. Many of the instructional practices that are appropriate for language minority students will benefit **all** students. However, while native English speakers are able to succeed without these practices, for many language minority and limited English profi-

cient students, such practices can make the difference between success and failure. The following strategies have been found particularly effective:

- whole language
- thematic units/integrated curriculum
- integration of language, content, and culture
- reading, writing, and speaking across the curriculum
- hands-on teaching and learning
- cooperative learning
- peer tutoring
- students as researchers
- students as teachers
- direct instruction in the use of learning strategies

6. In working toward the cultural objective of Goal 3, the experience with multicultural curricula gained in the last two decades should inform decisions about the education of all students. School districts should provide multicultural education from prekindergarten through high school. Multicultural materials provide enrichment for all students, enhancing student achievement and promoting the appreciation of different cultures and of the diverse cultural heritage of the United States, thus better preparing students for a global culture and economy.

7. To be maximally effective, multicultural materials must be integrated into the curriculum across disciplines, supplementing the textbooks and providing content that is informative, meaningful, and challenging. The materials should emphasize similarities as well as diversity among cultures.

8. In keeping with another of the objectives of Goal 3, opportunities should be provided for all students to learn another language. Language minority students, in addition to learning English, should be provided opportunities to develop their native language. Students can be resources for one another in learning one another's languages.

9. Suitable content materials in languages other than English must be identified and made available for instructional programs. These can serve the dual purpose of enhancing the academic achievement of language minority students and advancing the foreign language development of native English speaking students. In some instances, such materials may be incorporated into two-way (developmental) bilingual programs.

10. School districts and schools should utilize all resources—community, state, and national—to obtain appropriate multicultural instructional materials. (See the list of potential sources of information and materials which appears at the end of this section.) District-wide and school-based teacher curriculum teams can evaluate existing materials and develop new materials to be added to the curriculum.

Teacher Training and Certification

The number of school districts in which all students have English as their first language is rapidly diminishing and the culturally diverse classroom is a fact of life. Too few teachers have been or are being trained to deal with that fact. Thus, symposium participants had many recommendations to make about preservice professional preparation of teachers, in-service staff development, and the certification process.

1. Current efforts and projects to reform teaching standards—such as the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, and the Holmes Group recommendations—must consider the issues involved in teaching students from

diverse backgrounds. Teachers are at a disadvantage and students are ill served if teachers do not know how to teach in these changed circumstances.

2. Professional teacher preparation and staff development programs must instill in prospective and practicing teachers attitudes of acceptance of linguistic and cultural diversity and appreciation of these as national resources to be preserved and developed. Some present and future teachers need to confront their hidden biases, examine their own feelings, and acknowledge their own cultural constructs. Good pre-service and in-service programs will provide them with the opportunity to do so.

3. College and university teacher preparation programs should revise their curricula so that all courses in the foundations, psychology and philosophy, and methodology of education will reflect the diversity of the nation's classrooms.

4. Teacher preparation programs must present prospective teachers with culturally appropriate teaching strategies for students from diverse backgrounds. Teachers must learn to be flexible, experimenting with strategies and tailoring their instructional methods to meet the needs of students who may not share the same cultural background information nor have the same learning styles as mainstream students. They must learn to set instructional goals which are based on the needs of their students. These skills will improve teaching for all students, as teachers develop more sensitivity toward individual student differences and needs.

5. Teacher preparation programs must provide prospective teachers with content knowledge about other cultures so that they can impart multicultural education and perspectives to their students. Teachers should take one or more courses with multicultural content, e.g., an anthropological survey of different cultures, the literature of diverse cultures, cross-cultural communication.

6. All prospective teachers should be required to study a second/foreign language and demonstrate proficiency at a rating of at least 1/1+ on the ACTFL proficiency scale. They should be encouraged to study at least one content course taught in the foreign language so that they may experience first hand what students experience who have limited proficiency in English.

7. In-service staff development programs should be tailored to the needs of the teachers, taking into account that many of them received their professional preparation at a time when the student population was much less diverse than it is today. They need guidance in how to accommodate new learning styles as well as in how to teach multicultural content.

8. In-service programs should provide for follow-up, such as peer coaching, expert mentoring, and opportunities for giving and receiving feedback as teachers experiment with new ideas.

9. School districts and schools should provide opportunities for teachers in bilingual programs, teachers of English as a second language, and mainstream content teachers to learn from and serve as resources for one another.

10. Teachers in bilingual programs must be well qualified to teach subject matter in English as well as in the students' native language.

11. Teachers should be required to be recertified on a regular basis. The recertification process can be utilized to offer in-service training on topics such as "adapting instructional strategies to accommodate

the learning styles of culturally diverse students" and "teaching science and math to limited English proficient students in a mainstream setting."

12. Teachers should be given incentives to be recertified, e.g., merit pay, participation in clinical supervision, and the opportunity to become a master teacher.

Assessment Policies and Strategies

Symposium participants endorsed testing policies and procedures which hold all students to the same high standards but which are flexible enough to allow alternative means of meeting the standards.

1. The goal of a national system of standards and assessment must be the improvement of the educational delivery system, rather than the evaluation of individual students.

2. Language and cultural minority students should be included in whatever accountability systems are administered by the state educational agencies. There should be alternative strategies available to allow minority students to demonstrate that they meet the standards. Administration of tests should be flexible in such areas as the time allowed for completion and the language used for administration.

3. In statewide testing, state educational agencies should allow for the possibility of assessment in the native language of language minority students. Students with limited English proficiency should be allowed to demonstrate what they know and are able to do, even if this means that they must be tested through the medium of their native language.

4. The decision whether to use the student's native language for assessment in the content areas should take into account the student's proficiency in English and in the native language, the student's prior educational background (i.e., whether the content was learned in the native-language setting), and the type of instructional program in which the student is enrolled (e.g., English as a second language, bilingual, mainstream).

5. For all students, multiple indicators and varied methods of assessment (rather than one standardized test—a "high stakes" test) should be used over a period of time to allow students to demonstrate their competence in the content areas being assessed.

6. The student's own work (oral reports, interviews, writing samples, journals, checklists, performance-based tasks, projects, and the like), as in a portfolio approach to alternative assessment, should be included among the assessment indicators.

7. More standardized forms of assessment may be used as part of the assessment program if the students meet the prescribed criteria for taking the tests. These standardized tests will permit comparison with national and international surveys to measure progress of U.S. students toward meeting world-class standards.

8. Teachers must be involved in the development of standards and assessments. Their knowledge about cultural diversity and their expertise in second language instruction should be employed in defining multiple indicators, in developing assessment tools, and in creating guidelines for alternative assessment strategies. When teachers become involved in the setting of standards and in helping to implement the alternative assessment program (e.g., through portfolios) they learn how to plan their instruction so as to produce measurable outcomes.

9. State educational agencies should become clearinghouses for assessment instruments and strategies. When examples of proficient performance are made

public, everyone knows what the expectations are and everyone is therefore better able to work toward meeting them.

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RESOURCES

Materials for Multicultural Education

Libraries, media centers, and museums: Many of these contain multicultural resources, multimedia sources, materials about specific cultural groups, and children's literature that portrays different lifestyles, perspectives, and experiences.

Local and state resource centers: (State and local administrations must ensure that these sources do respond to the need for culturally and linguistically appropriate resource materials.) One example is the Maryland Writing Project, which increases participants' awareness of their library resources, informs teachers of the availability of materials, and provides guidelines and suggestions for how to use them. Other states have similar resources; some examples are given here:

- New York State Department of Education
  District Organization, BOCES and Rural Services
  Room 501, W. Hall, EB
  Albany, NY 12234

  (contact for information on the 41 service centers of Board of Cooperative Education Services)

- Capital Region Education Council (CREC)
  599 Mataunck Avenue
  Windsor, CT 06095

  (largest of six regional education councils in the state of Connecticut)

- Minority Resource/Research Center
  Farrell Library, Room 415
  Kansas State University
  Manhattan, KS 66506

- Multicultural/Global Education Committee
  Educational Service District #105
  33 South Second Avenue
  Yakima, WA 98902

- Project Crossroads
  3878 Old Santa Fe Trail
  Santa Fe, NM 87505

National resource centers: There are numerous organizations such as the following which maintain databases, develop multicultural curricula, produce newsletters or resource lists, or offer advice, training, and workshops.

- Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
  1250 N. Pitt Street
  Alexandria, VA 22314

- Center for Applied Linguistics
  1118 22nd Street, NW
  Washington, DC 20037

- Clearinghouse for Immigrant Education
  100 Boylston Street
  Suite 737
  Boston, MA 02116

- National Association for Bilingual Education
  1220 L Street, NW
  Suite 605
  Washington, DC 20005

- National Association for Multicultural Education
  c/o Priscilla Walton
  Commission on Teacher Credentialing
  1812 Ninth Street
  Sacramento, CA 95814

- National Center on Effective Secondary Schools
  School of Education
  Wisconsin Center for Educational Research
  University of Wisconsin—Madison
  1025 W. Johnson Street
  Madison, WI 53706

- National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning
  399 Kerr Hall
  University of California, Santa Cruz
  Santa Cruz, CA 95064

- National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education
  1118 22nd Street, NW
  Washington, DC 20037

- National Council for the Social Studies
  3501 Newark Street, NW
  Washington, DC 20016

- Stanford Program on International and Crosscultural Education
  Stanford University
  Littlefield Center, Room 14
  300 Lausen Street
  Stanford, CA 94305-1114

- Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
  1600 Cameron Street
  Suite 300
  Alexandria, VA 22314

- Several of the clearinghouses of the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) system.

ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management
University of Oregon
1787 Agate Street
Eugene, OR 97403

ERIC Clearinghouse on Elementary and Early Childhood Education
University of Illinois
805 W. Pennsylvania Avenue
Urbana, IL 61801

ERIC Clearinghouse on Handicapped and Gifted Children
Council for Exceptional Children
1920 Association Drive
Reston, VA 22091-1589

ERIC Clearinghouse on Language and Linguistics
Center for Applied Linguistics
1118 22nd Street, NW
Washington, DC 20037-0037

ERIC Clearinghouse on Reading and Communication Skills
Indiana University, Smith Research Center
2805 East 10th Street, Suite 150
Bloomington, IN 47408-2698

ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools
Appalachia Educational Laboratory
1031 Quarrier Street
P.O. Box 1348
Charleston, WV 25325-1348

ERIC Clearinghouse for Science, Mathematics and Environmental Education
Ohio State University
1200 Chambers Road, Room 310
Columbus, OH 43212-1792

ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/ Social Science Education
Indiana University
Social Studies Development Center
2805 East 10th Street, Suite 120
Bloomington, IN 47408-2698

ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education
Teachers College, Columbia University
Institute for Urban and Minority Education
Main Hall, Room 300, Box 40
525 W. 120th Street
New York, NY 10027-9998

- Multifunctional Resource Center

There are 16 of these centers. To obtain information on the MRC for your region, call the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education toll free at 1-800-321-6223. In the Washington, DC dialing area call (202) 467-0867.

- Regional Educational Laboratories

Appalachia Educational Laboratory
P.O. Box 1348
Charleston, WV 25325

Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development
730 Harrison Street
San Francisco, CA 94103

Mid-continent Regional Educational Laboratory
2550 S. Parker Road, Suite 500
Aurora, CO 80014

The Regional Laboratory for Educational Improvement of the Northeast and Islands
300 Brickstone Square, Suite 900
Andover, MA 01810

North Central Regional Educational Laboratory
1900 Spring Road, Suite 300
Oak Brook, IL 60521-1480

Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory
101 S.W. Main Street, Suite 500
Portland, OR 97204

Pacific Region Educational Laboratory
1164 Bishop Street, Suite 1409
Honolulu, HI 96813

Research for Better Schools
444 North Third Street
Philadelphia, PA 19123

Southeastern Regional Vision for Education
P.O. Box 5367
Greensboro, NC 27435

Southwest Regional Laboratory
4665 Lampson Avenue
Los Alamitos, CA 90720

Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students
The Johns Hopkins University
3505 North Charles Street
Baltimore, MD 21218

Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards, and Student Testing
UCLA Graduate School of Education
145 Moore Hall
Los Angeles, CA 90024-1522

Center on Education and Training for Employment
The Ohio State University
1900 Kenny Road
Columbus, OH 34210-1090

- Title IV Desegregation Assistance Centers

Region 1: Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont

The Network
300 Brickstone Square
Suite 900
Andover, MA 01810

Region 2: New Jersey, New York, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands

New York University
32 Washington Place
Room 72
New York, NY 10003

Region 3: Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia

Mid-Atlantic Equity Center
5010 Wisconsin Avenue, NW,
Suite 310
Washington, DC 20016

Region 4: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee

Southeastern Desegregation Assistance Center
Southeastern Educational Foundation
8603 S. Dixie Highway, Suite 304
Miami, FL 33143

Region 5: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin

Programs for Educational Opportunity
University of Michigan
1033 School of Education Building
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

Region 6: Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas

Intercultural Development Research Associates
5835 Callaghan, Suite 350
San Antonio, TX 78228

Region 7: Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska

Midwest Desegregation Assistance Center
Kansas State University
Blue Mount Hall
Manhattan, KS 66506

Region 8: Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming

Mid-continent Regional Laboratory
2500 S. Parker Road, Suite 500
Aurora, CO 80014

Region 9: Arizona, California, Nevada

Southwest Regional Laboratory for Educational and Regional Development
4665 Lampson Avenue
Los Alamitos, CA 90720

Region 10: Alaska, Hawaii, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, America Samoa, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Trust Territory of the Pacific

Desegregation Assistance Center
Interface Network, Inc.
4800 S.W. Griffith Drive, Suite 202
Beaverton, OR 97005

Teacher Training

- ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education
  American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education
  One Dupont Circle, NW
  Suite 610
  Washington, DC 20036

- Multifunctional Resource Centers
  There are 16 of these centers. To obtain information on the MRC for your region, call the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education toll free at 1-800-321-6223. In the Washington, DC dialing area call (202) 467-0867.

Teacher Certification

- American Association of State Colleges and Universities
  One Dupont Circle, NW
  Suite 700
  Washington, DC 20036

- National Board of Professional Teaching Standards
  1320 18th Street, NW
  Washington, DC 20036

Testing and Standards

- Educational Testing Service
  Rosedale Road
  Princeton, NJ 08541

- ERIC Clearinghouse on Tests, Measurement, and Evaluation
  American Institutes for Research
  Washington Research Center
  3333 K Street, NW
  Washington, DC 20007

- George Washington University
  Evaluation Assistance Center-East
  1730 N. Lynn Street, Suite 401
  Arlington, VA 22209-2009

- Evaluation Assistance Center-West
  121 Tijeras, NE
  Suite 2100
  Albuquerque, NM 87102

- National Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards, and Student Testing (CRESST)
  University of California—Los Angeles
  School of Education
  405 Hilgard Avenue
  Los Angeles, CA 90024-1522

- National Education Goals Panel
  1850 M Street, NW
  Suite 270
  Washington, DC 20036

- National Forum on Assessment
  c/o Council for Basic Education
  725 15th Street, NW
  Washington, DC 20005

- Organizations involved in setting of national standards

Arts

Music Educators National Conference
1902 Association Drive
Reston, VA 22091

(In coordination with the American Alliance for Theatre and Education, the National Art Education Association, and the National Dance Association)

Civics

Center for Civic Education
5146 Douglas Fir Road
Calabasas, CA 91302

English

The Center for the Study of Reading
174 Children's Research Center
51 Gerty Drive
Champaign, IL 61820

(In coordination with the National Council of Teachers of English and the International Reading Association)

Foreign Languages

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
6 Executive Blvd.
Upper Level
Yonkers, NY 18701

(In coordination with the American Association of Teachers of French, the American Association of Teachers of German, and the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese)

Geography

National Council of Geographic Education
Geography Standards Project
1600 M Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036

(In coordination with the Association of American Geographers, the National Geographic Society and the American Geographical Society)

History

National Center for History in the Schools
at UCLA
231 Moore Hall, 405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90024

Mathematics

The National Council of Teachers of
Mathematics
1906 Association Drive
Reston, VA 22091

Science

National Academy of Sciences
National Research Council
2101 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20418